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MEN AND VENTS THROUGH 18th AND 19th CENTURY AFGHANISTAN

by

AHMAD ALI KOHZAD

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Historical Society of
Afghanistan

MEN

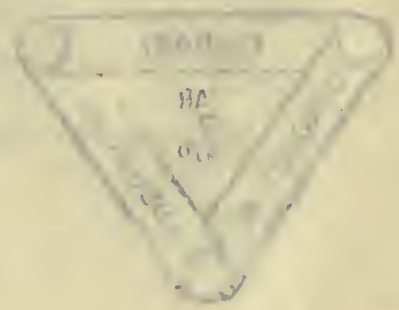
and

EVENTS

(Through 18th and 19th Century. Afghanistan)

by

Ahmad Ali Kohzad



PREFACE

Men and Events through 18th and 19th century, Afghanistan.

This is a collection of 46 articles originally written in Persian and published in book form some years ago, giving short sketches of some of the important events in Afghan History through 18th and 19th century.

They also give brief biographies of some outstanding Personalities who had played leading roles on the scene of those historical events.

We hope that the publication of an English version of this book will be useful to our foreign readers who may be interested in the history of our country.

Ahmad Ali Kohzad

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AHMED SHAH & TAMUR SHAH .
(Haji Jamal & Payanda Khan.)

In this article we have spoken of four persons; two of Sadu Zai and two belonging to the Barakazais. Twc of them were kings, and two were their advisers & their Ministers. The qualities of the two later persons were selfless devotion to the cause of the nation: which unfortunately was so much lacking during the 18th & 19th. centuries of our country's history; which was the cause of domestic struggle, & saoping the strength and vitality of the nation.

* * *

In the title of this article the names of four persons have been taken. Their names, during the reign of the Saduzais are so well known, that every one knows the importance of their personalities. It is qui te well known that Ahmed Shah and Tamur Shah-the father and son-have been kings of Durrani-Saduzai dynasty, who had ascended the throne one after the other. Haji Jamal and Payanda Khan belonging to the Barakzai Clan-as father and son-were contemporary to the above mentioned kings .

The point which we should like to emphasise in this article, is that these two great men of Afghanistan possessed sublime qualities of selflessness, of impersonal attitude to national service and appreciation of prudent measures. The importance of the qualities of these nobles of intluence and forsight, it was that exalted them to the place of such honour in thc estimation of the king that they were reckoned as the first rank counsellors. In point of fact, too, the administration of Ahmed Shah and that of his son, Tamur Shah were strengthened and sustained through the wisdom and devoted co-operation of these nobles.

On the occasion when the leaders of the Afghan clans used to elect one of the nobles from amongst themselves as a king at a gathering at Kandahar; the clan of Saduzai, from the point of number of families and number of men in it, was the smallest of them

all ; so that if the comparative strength of the number of households of Barakazai and Sauduzais were to be judged, the former was almost one ninth or one tenth times greater than the later. The historians seem to think that the reason of the election of Ahmed Shah to the throne was really due to the fact that his clan was very small, and, therefore, so that if he (Ahmed Shah) behaved contrary to the interests of the entire clans, then it would be the more easy to dethrone him from the rulership of the whole.

In any case, the qualities, which could be appreciated in the Sadu zai Sirdar, he was elected to rule. He was designated as His Majesty Ahmed Shah carrying the title of Duray duran, meaning "the Pear of Lusture"; and the nation styled him as the Father of the Nation. Haji Jamal Khan, the leader of the powerful clan of Barakzais, who had a great chance for being elected, trampling under foot the self-seeking desires-a disease which had overtaken practically all the leaders of the nation of the time - accepting the leadership of the Saduzai leader as the ruler of entire Afghanistan, thus strengthening the foundation of national integrity .His action, at a very critical time of Afghan history, has left a noble mark upon the annals of our country. Ahmed Shah, on his part, till the end of his time did not fail to respect the valuable services of his great cooperator, and bestowed all consideration consonant with the Elders position and sacrifice; so that from the very smallest to the greatest issues of the realm the the advice of Jamal Khan was constantly sought by the king.

King Ahmed Shah died in the year 1773. A. H. and was soon followed by his devoted friend Haji Jamal Khan. Circumstances so contrived that, after a brief readjustment, Tamur Shah on one side and Payanda Khan on the other - as the respective sons of the older friends - were cast upon the stage in time to perform their duties. Haji Jamal Khan had four sons: Rahim Dad Khan, Payanda Khan, Haroun Khan and Bahadur Khan. Although after the death of Ahmed Shah, the deceased king's minister - one named Shah Wali Khan - placed Sulaiman Shah, his son-in-law and the younger of the sons of Ahmed Shah Durrani, yet much time had not passed that Prince Tamur arriving from Herat, in defference to the wishes of a

large number of clan nobles, ascended the throne of his father in the year 1773. A. H.

In the first instance, the new king bestowed rather more of his interest towards the first born of Haji Jamal Khan, one named Rahim Dad Khan, and acknowledged him as the leader of the great Barakzai Clan; but as he was devoid of the qualities of leadership, for he was somewhat of a miser-the Afghans as a rule are not enamoured by a man who has not a large table and is not hospitable, and thus, the people of the tribes showed their disapproval of the man; the king impelled by these tribal complaints exalted the second son of Haji Jamal Khan to the leadership of the Barkazai clan, naming him as Sarfaraz Khan. The newly installed leader of the Barakzais-Payanda Khan-now known as Sarfaraz Khan made every effort to serve the best interests of the administration of Tamur Shah. The first service which he rendered, was that he pacified a trouble which had arisen against Tamur Shah on the part of the minister of Ahmed Shah Durrani, one named Shah Wali Khan - who incited an uncle of the late king Ahmed Shah - one named Abdul Khalib Khan - to raise a standard of revolt. Despite the fact that Payanda Khan had not had a large number of troops, yet he managed to win. Later Payanda Khan was appointed to serve in Kashmire with Dilawar Khan Ashaq Zai, and after that he was in charge of revenue department of Quetta and Thal where the excellence of his service was deeply appreciated. The king was highly pleased with him and he was entrusted with the Ghi Lzai administration to his previously dicated duties. His place near the ruler was now assured, and later in the reign of Tamur Shah, when trouble arose in the region of Peshawar and in Balkh, both of these mouvement being of great danger to the king, he came to the forefront and served his ruler, thus completely securing the steady rule for his mentor. As has been judged in history, Timour Shah had not those great qualities which characterised his remarkable father; so that if one were to probe deeply into the historical development of that age, one would soon discover that the man who again and again strengthened the roots of Tamour Shah 's reign for no less than twenty years, with his valour, his forsight, and his selflessness, was no other than Payanda Khan.

ZAMAN SHAH.

(And a policy of Indian penetration)

Zaman Shah is the third Saduzai king, who had considerable interest in regards to an advance towards India. He was so intensely devoted to the project that, he would not concern himself with anything beside that idea. Even if he saw anything apart from that project, he would at all times sacrifice it to the main issue which consumed his being. No year would he sit idle without thinking and Planning as to how he could get to the easternmost of his one time province, that is Lahore. The East India Company, which by dint of its great effort had made itself the master of the lar gest parts of Indian territory, working up from the Bay of Bengal; naturally opposed the designs of Zaman Shah; and set out to remove the threat of the danger of Zaman Shah. This article concerns itself with the description of that struggle).

There is, of course, no doubt that Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Founder of the Sadu Zai dynasty, on account of his frequent military expeditions, which resulted in the Battles of Panipat, open ed the path of conquest of India; and in the annals of 18 th. century the records of the Afghan's fighting power and qualities were fully acknowledged. From amongst the descendents of Ahmed Shah was his grandson Zaman Shah, the son of Tamur Shah - who upon mounting the throne in 1793. A. H. till those troublesome times, when the insinuation of the foreigners and the rivalry of the people in the country itself brought difficulties in his path; had ever engaged his attention towards an Indian expedition.

It seemed that some internal power without doubt at least once a year took him up to the Punjab, so that whilst there, he could plan his further progress into the heart of India and to give it a practical form and shape. It is, of course, undisputed that this urge of Zaman Shah was not entirely out of his own mind alone; for he wanted that the road that had been trod by his grandfather, and had met with success he, too, should persue it with the like result. But he did

not appreciate the fact that although there was a clear similiarity between his desires and that which his grandfather had wished and had achieved the place and time had no similiarity.

The lack of appreciation of this fact, and the taking of a new route produced failure for his efforts not only in Indian expeditions , but also contributed-as fundamental reasons-to his fall at home. At whatever time Ahmed Shah Durrani attacked India , he proceded whereever he wanted to go . But Zaman Shah inspite of the fact that the Punjab formed a part of his realm , that is of Saduzai dynasty , and that Zaman Shah actually reached Lahore several times ; he could not take a single step forward beyond Lahore . The troops of the East India Company , who had been based in India had found that the defeat of the Marahttas at the hands of the Afghans , and the Battles of Panipat had cleared the road for their march north-west of India : they , thereore , skirting the Ganges basin came forward and were playing with the then conditions in the Punjab .

It is related that the Directors of the East India Company , and especially those who were conducting the penetration policy of imperialism in regards to India, were excercised in mind on account of Napoleon's interest in India on one side , and of the interest shown by the Czars of Russia on the other . These points are certainly true . But these fears were born in the minds of the Directors of the East India Company after 1799 . A . D . for they had been watching attentively from their distant base at Calcutta,that their first and immediate danger was the progress of Zaman Shah , the Sadu zai king of Afghanistan . They noted that every year at least once , the fighting men from the Tirah hills , Safaid Koh and the Khyber area together with the Afghan troops , the king marched up to Lahore , as the last frontier town of his kingdom , and cast upon thh whole of India an ominous shadow .

Lord Wellesley , the English Governor , who was in Indian the Agent of the East India Company , soon appreciated the fact that when an Afghan king ruled in the Afghan areas-areas that included the eastern and south-eastern portions of north India-it

vould be a child's play for the Afghans to conquer India. Viewing this fact as early as one hundred and fifty year prior to the time (in 1797) Lord Wellesley devised a scheme by wich not only the Afghan progress is to be stopped making its way further into north-India to Lahore, and beyond; but the areas of the east and south-east beyond the western regions of the Indus river, including the areas of Sindh and Baluchistan should be seized from them.

English writers, like Alphinstone, Rawalson, Maleson, Tail etc; are all united in expressing the opnion that, the fundametal policy as laid down at Calcutta in the third quarter of the 18th century of Christian Era contrived to place all sorts of impedements in the path of Zaman Shah Sadu Zai, whether in the western borders of Afghanistan, or even in his country itself in order to "keep him busy", so that he may not be permitted to enter into the eastern part of his realm in the Punjab and his plans for a progress in India may be made nul and void.

To execute this policy, the workers for the East India company had devised ways and means: one such stratagem was to have him engaged against the Qadjaras in the western frontiers of Afghanistan so that the attention of the Sadu Zais might be diverted in that direction. On the other direction, in the East; it was so thought that the Sikh Paja should disturb the peace of his kingdom in the Punjab.

The East India Company discovered a devoted "servant" of their's at Bushar, a merchant of Iran, who lived at Bombay, by the name of Mahdi Ali Khan, and who was an Indian subject. As the East Company's view point was imperialist and megalomanic and they were building and using their moral and material strength and power towards that end; in the like manner. their "servant" Mahdi Ali Khan in Bushar, in addition to trade and business. interested himself in politics; and by various manipulations of craft related thereto managed to have an influence at the Persian Court. In consequence of this, he arranged repeatedly to send Agha Mohamed Shah and Fateh Ali Shah to the frontiers of the western parts of Zaman Shah's kingdom, first to Meshad, then to Nishapor and ultimately towards Herat. After a year an Eng-

lish Mission under the leaderhip of one named Malcolm undertook to carry matters further afield .

Meantime, other circumstances took shape ; for some time the Qadjar kings themselves undertook aggressive movements against the Afghan kings ; whilst at other occasions, disgruntled Afghan princes. like Firouz Uddin and Kamran were encouraged to produce disturbance on the western frontiers of Afghanistan. When the Afghan king was thus engaged to pacify the western frontiers of his realm , the Sikh Rajas, like Sahib Singh, Gulab Singh, Mahabat Singh and Ranjit Singh moved in the easter regions of the Afghan territory in the rear. There is little doubt that in both of these discomforting movements east and west, the hidden hand of the East India Company was at work. These activities kept Zaman Shah, some time in the West and at times in the East wholly occupied. On all occasions, advantage was taken in his absence ; so that when he was so occupied, a stroke was administered upon him on various points and his plans were disrupted.

Zaman Shah, meantime, was greatly interested in Indian matters and his hope of marching further into that country, thus, he gave little attention and care to that which happened in the western fringes of his kingdom. Every year, therefore, after assuming power, in the year 1793. A. D. he used to visit Peshawar, Attock, and Lahore - always, of course, with the intention of taking another step forward beyond Lahore into the heart of India. That which rather strongly encouraged the Afghan king in his desire to enter into the vital parts of India, were the constant invitations of the Nababs of Delhi, those of Oudh and of Mysore. As the writers (English) themselves have recorded , the event of Zaman Shah's arrival in Lahore, used to create considerable tremours in India ; and his penetration upto Lahore gave thought to many minds, regarding the earlier victories of his grand father Ahmed Shah in the land of the Hind.

The Sadu Zai king ving visited the Punjab many times such as in the years: 1783, 1795, 1796, 1797,1799; and Sikh Rajas at the time were scattered about in localities such as Gujrat, Wazirabad, Lahore, and Amritsar; and all of them were the vassals of the Sadu

Zai king. As the political encouragement of the East India Company was responsible in producing difficulties for Zaman Shah on his western borders by the Persian kings or his agents; in the like manner the company's agents-open and covered-acted unceasingly to incite the Sikh Maharajas against their Afghan Over-Lord: and these Maharajas were encouraged to desire to overthrow their vassalage for a "shadow independence" of their own. Conditions continued to go on like this, till in the year 1799. A.D hetought of a plan of action in which the spirit of loyalty could be made operative; and thought that of those Sikh Rajas,who were faithful to him, more reliance might be made; and the Punjab tèrrîtories might well be entrusted to their care; (he resorting to some sort of indirect rule).

With a view to this, Zaman Shah placed Ranjit Singh, a man of experience, and enjoying the confidence of the Afghan king upon the Punjab goverment; so that Ranjit Singh, as the governor of the Punjab - Punjab being still the realm of the Afghans took charge of the a dministration there. This stratagem, at the time was regarded as point of great statemanship; but in reality as events revealed-was the beginning of the decline of the Afghan power and government in the Punjab; because the chief manoeuvering hand-that is to say the hand of the East India Company-who awaited some such chance, so much strengthend Ranjit Singh, to his own advantage and for his own use, of course; that the political events which emerged from that single act upto the advent of the Mohamed Zai rule and even after bear witness to the mistake then made.

NOTE: THE ASCENSION TN THE THRONE BY ZAMAN SHAH.

On Doushambay, 8th of Shawalal Mukaram 1207. A. H. (Moon Calendar) Tamur Shah died in Kabul; and his son Zaman Shah and in Throne Room of Bala Hisar acended the throne of Afghanistan. A poet has versified the date of the occasion:

Two impressions- a beauteous and a sad one-were cast.
The Moon sat and the Sun rose from the horizon.
Due to heavenly constatation; Timour "rose" to go away.
And in his place sat Zaman Shah (on the kingly throne.)

THE MISTAKE OF ZAMAN SHAH.

THIRD ARTICLE

The mistake which Zamman Shah made in installing one Rahmat Ullah Khan-Wafadar Khan-as his adviser and minister; and the methods which Wafada Khan adopted towards the administation of the realm, and the advice which he gave to his king in regards thereto, contributed to the weekness of the kingdom and the Afghans. The result was that the imperialist designs of the westerners were projected afresh towards Asia: so that one of them. quite soon, cast its net through trade for the acquiring of territory in our neighbouring lands of the East. In consequence much blood was shed, and thereby the intriguers continued to profit by the ugly situations thus created; and the contention should be believed which it is stated that they continued to profit by that to the end.

* * *

There is little doubt that amongst the sons of Timour Shah, the one who was the most competent to rule the country of his fathers, was Zaman Shah. This matter was fully known to the wise men who had experience, like Sirdar Payunda Khan, Qazi Faizullah Khan and Mullah Abul Ghafar Khah. Prior, therefore, to the death of Timour in order to serve the king's family and the benefit of the nation and for the peace and prosperity of the country, they had prepared the people for Zaman Shah's ascending to the throne of his father: further more, these gentlemen, had secured the adhesion of Zaman Shah's brothers to Zaman Shah's occupying the throne after Timour Shah. Despite the fact that opposition did manifest itself in this regard from such as Abbas and Mahmud in Kabul and Kandahar and Herat; yet Sirdar Payunda Khan, due to his wise manipulation and sagacity managed to overcome the diffculties, and solved the problem in favour of Zaman Shah: till Zaman Shah's rivals, partly on account of lack of support, which did not come to them, and partly due to the circumstances of the time, reluclantly agreed to Zaman Shah's ascending the throne. They, however, wait edfo their opportuuity.

As soon Zaman Shah after the death of his fathear, finding his brothers'submission complete discovered that he was strong enough; he unfortunately slowly began to change his attitude, and assumed an autocratic mien. During the course of these events, it became apparent that Sirdar Payanda Khan, who had the service of the king at heart, and was the true worker for his nation as a man of considerable experience and acuemn, was receding from the favour of the king. Another man, by the name of Wafadar Khan replaced the great Sirdar Payanda Khan as a minister of the Afgan monarch. This Wafadar Khan, according to a contemporary historian was a man of political craft, wih soft and soothing manners and voice, which he used to a fault even on occasions when he acted as a Court Jester. His attitude towards those who served under him, was full of arogance and haughtiness, and in his behaviour in respect of those above him in station, he was subservient and cringing. He was afraid of the least appearance of difficulty or mis-carriage in events, he loved his appointment considerably, and to safe-guard his own place in administration, he left nothing undone to severe the connection or contact between the king and his best to produce a sense of repugnance towards the people on the part of their ruler. This man possessing such childish traits, who was impelled by no other than his personal interests, had attained such close attention of the king that the monarch had placed all power and administration in his hands, and Zaman Shah was just a tool in the hands of this worthless person. As was but natural, the ideas of the king were poisoned to such a degree that he devoutedly set his foot forward to oppose the recognised leaders of people; and notably was soured towards the Barak Zais. Although the animosity between the Barakzais and the Sadu Zais, which produced such drastic difficulties both for the people and the country of Afghanistan, is said to belong to other reasons the real and the true reason of this conflict is that very doubt and mistake which brought Wafadar Khan to the chair of a minister of the realm. The King's Favourite, of course, as could be expected, took advantage of that weekness and of that conflict and the illtreatment reached to un-bearable extent, in regards to the well-wishers of the countrv. Quite naturlly this progress

of events produced its reaction. Secret societies were born against the king and his thoughts. Ultimately five persons constituted a committee in relation the election of the king and his inf luence and power, so that the importance should always remain in the hands of the elders of the people. This commitee resolved to dethrone the king, to kill Rahmat Ullah Khan and to elect Shah Shuja for the throne of Afghanistan. This secret, hoewever, could not remain hidden from the informers of the king's favourite-Rahmat Ullah Khan-so these secrets reached his ears from the lips of the members of the committee itself.

Zaman Shah, first of all considered his own personal safety, and changed his Royal Guards; and by giving money, gifts bes towing favours of sorts, captured the friendsip of some of the people and their leaders. But by various dubious ways, surrounded them one by one-one of them being Pyanda Khan-he managed to have then assassinated by calling them for consultation as ruse. Payanda Khan was one of the great leaders of his people whose co.operation had steadied the work of administiation; and thus as soon as he fell a victim of his rivals at the hands of the king in the country arose those facts fo high tradegy which lasted til Second Anglo-Afghan Wars: during times, Great damage was done to the intrests of the country and the nation.

THE SUCCES AND FAILURE OF ZAMAN SHAH.

FOURTH ARTICE

The period of reign of Zaman Shah is an admixture of events both successful and of failure. His success was notably in the realm of those battles which he fought against the foreigners. His failure, was largely due to the personal interests of his Courtier, inter-tribal animosities, and inter-clan discords. His ideas were sound enough, so far as they went, but in carrying on those projects, his doubts and prejudices against the Elders of the Clans, prevented their successful conclusion. In the first instance, the cooperation and help of the Elders of the clans, might not have appeared to him as significant, but in the last analysis, such doubts

and un-trust affected the solidarity of his kingdom, produced fundamental weeknesses; which sowed the seeds of conflict into the soil of the kingmdom. The result being that at last, the Sadu Zai dynasty lost the throne; and great personages and importance deserted the.

* * *

In the third aricle of this period of history, we had mentioned that prior to the death of King Timour Shah, the Elders of the clans-impelled notably by such towering personalities as Sirdar Payunda Khan-who were sincere lovers of the power and prosperity of their country; it was resolved to set on the throne Zaman Shah, who possessed the qualities of rulership as compared to the other twentyone sons of Timour Shah. Inspite of it all, Zaman Shah was not able to rule in peace. His brothers, like Humayun and Mahmud made all possible efforts to secure the throne. In any case, the period of rule of Zaman Shah, as the rule of the Third Sadu Zai king, had a historical importance. The real imprtance of it is constituted by the Afghan king's battles against the foreigners. The time was, when the foreigners from the west countries especially from France, England and Russia were out to introduce their influence in India. Their approximation to the Indian continent, the Persian Gulf, strted a disturbance in the east, such as in Persia, Mesopotamia and in the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan: so that matters of conflict extended their tentacles in all directions. Zaman Shah was to a certain degree aware of these movements, and desired to take advantage of the circumstances fo the benefit of his own country, so that he wished that in the interior of the country fuedal difficulties may be removed; and as an external policy he could push his efforts to the extent of the conquests of his grandsire, Ahmed Shah Durrani in India.

There is no doubt that of the two above mentioned problems, the first one: namely the quilling of the internal discord was the more important, But although the intenal peace was the more desirblae in equal measure it was riddled with difficulties.

In solving the internal difficulties, however, unfortunately impedements arose from the very first step; and as time progressed they continued to increase in magnitude. Regarding the mistake of Zaman Shah, we have already made a mention in the third article; that is to say how the Elder of the people Payanda Khan, as one of the Sirdars, had been angered due to the appointment of Rahmat Ullah Khan-Sadu Zai-and Wafadar Khan's appointment as the Minister of the Realm). Wafadar Khan, as may be recalled was the title bestowed upon Rahmat Khan, by Zaman Shah. Also, as in consequence of the intrigue from the Favorite of the King Payanda Khan and other leaders had been assassinated. In addition to this animosity towards the Barakzais came into being. Not only this but the opposition of the brothers of the king, especially that of Mahamud, and an other group this fire was further fanned into flames.

Few will doubt the faet that Wafadar Khan was in tune with the wishes and views of his master; an dit was, therefore, possible that due to the confusion that had arisen, the king was able to bring he Punjab into the orbit of his realm; by virtue of which he had placed Ranjit Sinjit Singh as his governor in the Punjab; that is in Lahore as a representative of the kingdom of the Durrani crown.

Opposition to Zaman Shah, however, in the interior of the country, from his brothers, continued to increase since it began in the beginning of his rule. Mahmud, who had been quietened, once again raised the standard of descension and was actively on the war path. The antagonism of the Barak Zais was personified by Fateh Khan. These domestic intransigencies and feelind of disquiet of clansmen encourage the hopes of the foreign elements towards matters in Afghanistan. The creeping up of the English to the northern reaches of India, induced Ranjit Singh to actions of disloyalty and self-assertion. In the western regions, the Qachar kings of Persia gave lands and property at Tar Shaiz to Mahmud; for Aqa Mohamed Khan and Fateh Ali Shah had an eye on Khorasan; not only this, but the Afghan prince was incited to inrode the more into the Afghan territory. Zaman Shah's difficulties sprang up periodically, and without any desire from the king himself, some times from the direction of Lahore whilst the similiar disturbance arose from the

direction of Herat. Zaman Shah, however, had to keep on protecting his realm from both directions.

When Zaman Shah was in Kandahar in the 1219. A. H. (Moon Calendar) he received a letter from his brother Shah Shuja, who was then the governor at Peshawar informing him of the reactionary attitude of Ranjit Singh. The king there upon appointed one named Mahir Ali Khan-an Ishaq Zai-as the governor of Kandahar ; and taking a large army marchd on to Peahawar on his way to the Punjab. This was a time, when Mahmud having taken action against Herat was on his way to Bukhara in ordre to seek assistance from the Amir of Bokhara. But in Bukhara he was arreested ; but he was ustimately able to escanpe by way of Khiva and Ishqabad to Tehran; and journey with Fateh Ali Shah up to Tarshaiz. But these help-seeking comings and goings nothing tangable resulted. These journeys did not produce any resulte, till, however, one of the Afghan Sirddars, one named Fateh Khan, came to join him (Mahmud.) The two thus allied resulved to attack Kandahar by going trough Seistan. Mahir Ali Khan, who was appointed governor of Kandahar by Zaman Shah, prioar to bis journey to meet Ranjit Sing, taking a body of troops of five thousand foot and horse soldiers, gave battle-to Mahmud and his ally Fateh Khan at Kushk-i-Nakhud ; bnt was defeated ; and retreated to Kandahar. The city was beseiged, and after a seig of forty two days, the city was surrundered to Mahud. Mahr Ali Khan hurried to Pesbawar to give the news of the fall of Kandahar to Zaman Shah at Peshawar.

The king in anger, gave up his persuit of Ranjit Singh in the Punjab and started on the road to Kabul ; from where he marched on to meet the forces of Mahud and Fetah Khan at Kandahar by way of Ghazni. Ten thousand soldiers, under the command of his son Prince Nasir and Ahmad Khan Nour Zai were then sent out towards Kandahar. At a place called Sar Asp lying between Killat Ghilzia and Muqur the king's commander-Ahmed Khan Nour Zai-surrundered to Mahmud and the Prince had to beat a retreat. Zaman Shah retraecshid steps from Ghazni to Kabul in ored to strength his forces ; but as soon as he reached Kabul, the few that he had as his soldiers, deserted their ranks. The king now moved towards Jalala-

bad; and wrote to his brother Shhuhsaja, the governor at Peshawar, to send him the help of the Sadu Zai and the men of Kyber. At night the king, togather his his favourite Wafadar Khan, and other ot his followvers took refuge in the fort of a Shinwari named Ashiq near Jagdaluk. Whilst the Shiwari was attending to the wants of his visitors, yet took the chance of sending a word to Mahmud; and a brother of Fatheh Khan-one named Asad Khan-was sent out to capture the king; and Shahshuja despatched Abdul Karim Khan from Peshawar to relieve his brother -the king, tolalbad. But Asad Khan hastening his steps, managed to capture the king and his faithful minster, and brought them to Kabul. Wafadar Khan was assassinated; Zaman Shah, by the order of Mahmud was rendered blind and was flung in a dungeon at Bala Hisar.

IIIFTH ARTICE

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IN THE FORT OF ASHIK. THE SHINWARI.

The term of sovereignty ofan important Saduza iking, Zaman Shah the son of Timour Shah, terminated due the circumtances, which could not even find a place in the mind of thot king. The turn of the events was atonce tragic and fearful, because that which haPpened not only cost the king his throne; his eyes but that he had the mifortune to be cast into the prison fo live a ilfe of utter misery and want.

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Most of the contemporay events of Afghan history have been plunged into dramatic atmosphere; so that a large number of the big and small incidents in relation thereto appear form behind the background of history in an envolved shape and have an appearance of unexpected turns and of bafflements; vhich in the term ued by the Euopeans are regarded merely as "in the current of events of history."

The appearance of Zaman Shah, an important Sadu Zai king, at the fort of one Ashik the Shinwari, in itself is not an extraordinary incident or happening; but those matters which took

shape during that night of refuge at that fort are the stories of wonder and amazement. The should be so for when a person arrives at a place in the evining as a king, very same personalty goes out of the very same door as a captive.

During that night the king not only forfeited his greatness his importance, his crown and jewels, his power and prestige: but also sight. This unfortunate king, who was emersed in the thoughts of far and near, of schemes of far reching importace and significance; and despite all the misfortunes that had attended his efforts had yet a hope of suceess in the future; he found himself in an eternal darkness as the gloom of night was giving place to the radiance of the morning sun. Zaman Shah was in the Punjab in the year 1216. A. H. when his contesting brother, who had been rendered helpless and districted by his endeavours received the co.operation of an experiemced man, like Fhteh Khan; and accompanied by him and taking the Seistan route attacked and took Kandahahar. that city he took after a seige of 42 days from Mehr Ali Khan of Asaq Zai, the last named being entitled Shah Pasand Khan; who after the fall of Kandahar took the sad news to Zaman Shah at Peshawar.

Zamn Shah postponed the steps which he wanted to take against Ranjit Singh to another occasion, returned to Kabul and then immediately bent bis steps towards Ghazni. Ten thousand soldiers, lead by Ahmed Khan Noor Zai and his son Prince Nasir were ordernd by him to engage those in possession of Kandahar. At a place known as Sar Asp, lying between the Killat Ghilzai and Muqur, the Noor Zai Sirdar-the commander of the king-surru ndered to Mahmud and Prince Nasir was obliged to beat a retreat. Meantime, Zaman Shah returned to Kabul from Ghazni in order to-prepare a stronger force for himself; bus plan was upset; so that in place of gainig further support, those whom he had amongst his troopers, they, too deserted him. All that remaied with the king were his minister Wafadar Khan, Zaman Khan Popul Zai and amongst his troops, he had then only two hundred horsemen and four houndrea foot soldiers. With this small following he started on the robd to Jalaladad.

Shah Mahmud and Fateh Khan started with the rapidity of electricity and covering the distance between Muqor and Ghazni arrived at Kabul; though an engagement took place (rather small in magnitude) between the followers of the king and the forces of Fateh Khan and Mahmud at Wacha Pana near Jagdaluk; the result of which, quite naturally, was in favour of the forces of Fateh Khan. One of the Heads of the Shinwaris, one named Mullah Ashiq, who had previously enjoyed the friendship of Zaman Khan's minister the favonritte Wafadar Khan-had a fort on the way of Jagdalik. Zaman Shah, the unfortunate king, who had hopes of conquering the vast lands of India; but was so distracted by the trebles at home; at the hands of his brothers, was now obliged to take refuge at a fort of a mere Elder of a tribe even for a night's rest. This fact of a refuge at a fort is just an incident-fateful in essence-for dispite his deafeats in other fields, the remaining portions of Zaman Shah's domains were still in tact in the east and the south up to the Punjab; and his real brother-Shahshuja-was still a paramount ruler and governor of his brother at Peshawar; and from him, too, he had sought assistance.

Ashiq, the Shinwari, at first received the king with due respect and humble solcitations; so that nothing was left undone in preparing a kingly reception. But when he heard that Mahmud had taken Kabul, the Shinwari was greatly frightend, and thought that the fact of having taken Zaman Shah as refugee might be considered in an adverse light by Mahmud; thus he locked the gate of the fort; and sent a message to Mahmud through his son, and said that some one might be sent to take over the one who reposed in the fort at night. Soon, howevr, the unfortunate Zaman Shah, realised that although till quite recently, they were the honoured guests, then they were prisoners. The Shinwari stuck to his idea, and all the solicitations of Zaman and his followers were of on avail. Atlast the gave up the effort and prepared themslves to whatever may come out of it all. The position of Zaman Shah was now known to both Mahmud and to Shahshuja; the one made all posible prepations to deal with the fleeing king, and Shahshuja was busy to render help.

From the direction of Kabul Asad Khan, the brother of Fateh Khan moved eastwards; whilst Abdul Karim Khan was hurying with his relieving force from Peshawar. But as the distance between Jagdalik and Kabul was a short one, Asad Khan arrived at the fort, where Zaman Shah was detained, much quicker than the relieving force. Zaman Shah hid all jewels, together with the famous Koh-i-Noor, in a whole of the wall. The day not dawned, when Nawab Asad Khan arrived at the gateway of the fort, and captured the king: the king,s eyes wers taken out ; and he was flung in the dungeon at Kabul at the command of Mahmud. The kings favourite and other of his companions were all assassinated. The barbarious aet opend a gateway of grave conflict between the real brother of Zaman Shah-Shahshuja-and Mahmud, the step-brother of the unfortunate king Zaman Shah.

Ashiq, the Shinwari, who was the author or this nefarious act, did not reap the fruit of his treachery. The theree years of Shah Mahmud's reign terminated the reign of Mahmud prestige at the hands of Shahshuja; and the very act which Shahshuja performed was to arrest Ashiq, and had him hung. The valuable diamond, Koh-i-Neor, which had remained hidden in a hole in the wall of the fort, was at last dicovered and handed over to Shahshuja.

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Note: According to some historiecal sources, like Tarikh Sultani, and Tufat -ul Habib Zaman Shah Sadozai, when imprisoned in the fort of the Shinwari Ashiq; the king placed the Kon-i-Noor and other jewels in a secret hole in a wall; and threw the Fukhraj in a riverlet.

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HUMAYUN.

SIXTE ARTICLE

Prince Humayun was the governor of Kandahar during the reign of his father, Tamour Shah; and he considered himself the most competent person to sit upon the throne of his father, despite the number of his father's son being noless than

twenty one. In neighbourhood of Kandahar he ordered his trooops to measure swords with the men of his brother Zaman Shah; but due to the sagacity of that Elder, Sirdar Payanda Khan, moral persuation prevailed, and no bloodshed took place. Personal influence of Payanda Khan was great enough to have Humayun the right of his brother for the throne of Kabul. Humayun, however, continued to desire the therone; and roamed about in the regions of Kandahar, Farahe Bluchi stan and Sindh. His popularity did not go much beyond the precints of Kandahar; till he fell into the hands of the officers of Zaman Shah in the area of the Indus river; and was deprived of sight.

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On the death of Timour Shah in the year 1793. A. D. it was not an easy task to appoint, or to select a successor of the deceased king. In the absence of a will of the deceased, and due to the fact that many of the princes were not present in Kabul; opportuniy was seized by two sons of Timour to raise their standard; one by Mahmud and the other by Humayun. During the time of Timour Shah, several of the princes were made govenors of various provinces of the realm; such as Mahmud and Haji Firuzuddin in Herat, Humayun in Kandahar and Abbas in Pehawar. The news of the death of Timour was purposely suppressed by such well.wishers of the kinglom as Sirdar Payanda Khan and Mulla Abdul Hhafar Khan, fearig an internecine war-and in secret had resolved to place Zaman Shah on the throne of his father, for he of all was regarded as the most suitable successor amongst a concourse of twenty one princes; but inspite of these precautions, both at Kabul and in the provinces an atmosphere of disturbance swept over the entire scene; but no definite results came out.

Those princes-the sons of the late king-who were at Kabul gathered at the house pf Prince Abbas; and elected him on their behalf as the king. But the above mentioned Elders and the ministered arrested these princes and being on the side of Zaman Shah, place all these princes in goal and infllicted upon them much radh hips.

When Humayun and Mahmud, who were at Kandahar and at Herat heard the news of the death of their father; they at once, each at his own station, raised the banner of revolt and discord. When Zaman Shah, however, finally ascended the throne; he sent a message to his brother Humyun at Kandahar, and inivited him to accapt him (Zaman Shah) as the king. But as Humayun, was older than Zaman Shah, and during the time of the reign of his father Timour had held high administrative post; and considered himself as the rightful owner of his father's did not accept the profered in vitiation of his brother Zaman at Kabul; thus the troops of the two claiments for the throne mustered at a place called Bagh Bubro-some locate it to be about two miles from Kandahar; whilst others think that the place lay some two miles east of Killat- in order to reach conclusions. The matter did not arrive to any sanguinary stage; for the personal influence of Sirdar Payunda Khan (on behalf of Zaman Shah) and his strong pleas persudaed the commander of Humayun's forces to come to a peaceful arrangement; thus Mihar Ali Khan surrundred his troops; whilst Humayun retreated with his father-in-law to Kandahar, and thence took the road to Bluchistan; where he took refuge with Nasir Khan the Bluch. With this success, of course, Zaman Shah found his position steadied, and the status of Payanea Khan was increased in the estimation of the king of Afghanistan. After putting the matters of Kandahar right, the king placed his son the Prince Nasir on the governship of Kandahar under the guardianship of Abdullah Khan-Noorzai-beeause the prince was only a boy of seven years of age. Zaman Shah, himeself marched on to Herat; from that place he returned after putting the local affairs right at Herat. From Kabul, the king journeyed towards Peshawar to arrange matters in the eastern part of his realm; and then began to contemplate over his plans of a conquest of India

Humayun, in the meantime, watching his opportunity finding that his brother, the king was away from the capital of Afghanistan; started towards Kandahar once again from his hiding place of Bluchistan. It is related, however that Zaman Shah, not being unaware of the designs of Humaynn, prior to leaving Kabul for Peshawar,

had deputed one of his messengers, one named Khudadad Khan and Shair Mohamed Khan, the Head of the ministers-to go and give good advice to his brother Humayun, and to prevent him from taking any unwise steps for disturbing the peace of the country. But Khuda Dad Khan, in place of giving the prince Hnmayun a "softer treatment" so handled the situation that in place of assuaging so infurated him as to make him more obturate and intrinsigngent. The result was that troops were mustered against Hunayun and a ware-route was takan towards Kandahar. The Prince Qaysar and Abdullah Khan could not meet the situation; Qaysar was taken prisoner; and Abdullah to Preshawar to give the bad news of reverse to the king. Humayun occupied Kandahar for the second time and reised the standard of his kingship there; and commanded to strike coinage under his name as the ruler. When, however, he had thus established himself in the city of Kandahar, and had proclaimed his rule over the country; Ahmed Khan Noorzai, attacke Kandahar, as one ot the followers of Zaman Shah, and wanted to capture the Prince Humayun, but he did not succeed and was wounded in the attempt, He was taken to the house of a religious person, where he was being treated, when Humayun hearing of his reuge, wanted to punish him; but the consideration of the divine prevented the infliction of an adverse fate upon him; and he (Ahmed Khan) was not only forgiven, but also was installed as the commander of Humayun's forces. Humayun's Kandahar success compelled Zaman Shah, who had heard of his men's defeat, to retrace his steps Kandaharwards, in order finally to fight for superemacy; so that for a second time the forces of Zaman Shah and those of Prince Humayun faced each other about forty miles from Kandahar.

The head of Zaman Shah's army was again the old vatern Payanda Khan; and the commander of Humayun was the man who but shortly was sent out by Zaman Shah as the king,s man-that is to say Ahmad Khan Noorzai. Once again Payunda Khan won the battle without fighting; and Ahmed Khan accompaied by Payanda Khan surrundered himself to his master-the king-Humayun onle again had to admit defeat; and this time he fled towards Herat so that he could join forces with Prince Mahmud. Fateh Khan chased him upto Grishk, but could not succeed to capture him.

Even before the king could make a triumphant entery into Kandahar, the wifo of Sirdar Payunda Khan, who did not lag behind her husbnd in bravery and skill and sagacity, donnig the garb of a warrior attacked the city's prison and effected the release of the young prince Qaisar; and placed him in the chair of his governorship, which had been bestowed upon him by his father, Zaman Shah, the king of Afghanistan. Whilst the people of the city were yet unaware of their fath, those outside the were engaged in battle; and when all this was going on; this Afghan woman of valour gave a practical proof of her loyalty to the king; released the imprisoned son of the king; and proclamed the paramouncy of the rule of Zaman Shah over the city. All this was done, when the king entered the conquered city of Kandahar, with his troops and once again placed his son upon the chair of office of the governorship of Kandahar. Next the king worte a letter to Mahmud to surrunder Humayun. He further re installed Mahmud Khan, the son of Nasir Khan Bluch, who had been evcted by his cousin from that area, to his original position. The news about Humayun at the time was that. he did not proceed furthert than Farah when he was on his way to Herat; and he returned to Bluchistan once again from that point. From that place he journeyed to the localities on the river Indus, where eh was arrested by a band of Zaman Shah's men, who were deputed for that purpose; and by the command of his brother Zaman Shah was blinded.

The detatils of this incident are that Prince Humayun and his son and his followers had pictched their camp under some trees in a desert between the Jehlam and the Indus, about twentyfive miles from Multan towards Dera Ismail Khan. The place was called Liah. Here Mohamed Khan Sadu Zai at the head of five hundred cavalry as the appointees of the king-Zaman Shah with a commission to capture the fugitve prince, arrived. There wrs brief engagement between the small followers of the prince and the king's men. Humayun's son and some of hts fllowers were killed in battle; and when Humayun fell upon the slin body of his son and was in tears, he was captured at the hands of Mohamed Khan. When Zaman Shah neard about the capture

Shah Shuja.

Mihr Ali Khan Ishaq Zai.

Prince Humayun.

Aminullah Khan Logary.

of his brother Humayun; he sent his head guardsman one named Hasan Khan to bring the blinded and unfortunate prince, when he reached Kabul, the Priuce Humayun was flun into the duegeon.

THE PRINCE QAISAR.

SEVENTH ARTICLE

Al though Zaman Shah Sdau Zai had installed his young boy son, named the prince Qaisar, on the chair of governship of Kandahar, whilst the boy was hardly seven years of age, and plunged the boy into the votex of political difficulties; yet the turmoils of internal difficulties and discord, personal rivalries and domestic and family struggle, did not give the young boy any pecce. During the reign of his father-Zaman Shah the attaks of Humayun continued to disturb the peace of minds: till the small boy was flung into the dungeon. During the reign of his uncle, Shah Shuja become a pawn in the game of Fatheh Khan, the young boy had to flit about from place to place. Whatever, however, the minister wanted did not come to pass; and Qaisar, as a ruler lost his place gradually.

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In the history of Afghanistan, especially that period which takes in the time of the sncond half of the 18th. century of Christian Era. in the turning and twisting of events, the nams of small or big princes had also occurred. These names, inspite of their not been significant as such, are yet of interest in regards to the passage of history. The princes, whom we style here as the little princes, are Ayub Shah, Shltan Ali Shah the prince Haydar, Prince Qaisar, Yunus, Fateh Jung, Jahangir etc etc. Those who had been appointed, as a rule. to reign by their fathers, or their uncles over large or small areas; all such persons had been the tools of their elders, or of the greater princes, or yet they had acted under the influence of theire more powerful mentors. Scme of the young princes had been plaled merely to fit a place iu the scheme of things of those more powerful in the realm. As the places that these young mcn or youthe rwes

not held by them though their own wishes or their own desires, with the slightest adverse current of affairs, they could be wafted from their places and had been replaced by others.

The particulars of th life of prince Qaisar, or beter still those facts of his life that had impressed tkemselves on the pages of history, are of a nature of drama; or a ball; the movememnts of which ought to be viewed in light. Such facts of his life cannot repose un-noticed in the chronicles of this country's events. In all the years of his youth the governorship or rulership of Kabul, Herat and especially the viceroyalty of Kandahar was son igned to him; but during the time of his father, tbe rivals of the throne did not leave him in peace. During the rule of his uncle, nobles like Vazir Fateh Khan, and Mukhtar-u-Doullah Shair Mohamed Khan incited him to a revolt. They, of course, dangled him about this side or that according to their own plans or schmes. The first posihon of responsibilty which was entrusted to him was the governorsip of Kanhahar; in which he was installed when yet a mere child. When Zaman Shan occupied the throne of his father Timour Shah he was immediately confronted with the opposition of his brother Humayun. It was then that Zaman Shah placed his young son, Qaisar as the governor of Kandahar when the prince was hardly seven of age. Abdullah Khan Noorzai was put as the guardian of the boy prince. Meantime Zaman Shah trevelled upto Herat, then returning to Kabul marched on to Peshawar; in order to arrrange matters in the eastern province of his realm. From Peshawar he wanted to study the future plans of his campaign of India. Findin Zaman Shah absent from the country; Humyun emerging from his hiding place in Bluchistan converged upon Kandahar with Bluchi co-operators. The battle that took place near the city of Kandahar between the young prince, the nephew and his uncle Humayun is both dramatic and sad. It is related that the small prince was wounded and his cousin, Ahmed the young son of Humayun, was in tears about the woundng of the young Qaisar; but the contesting Humayun became angry; and put the "infant" prince (Qaisar) into prison. It is, of course, true that this young boy prince had hardly any say in the matter of

the lattle; for the command of the army was in the hands of Sardar Payanda Khan and Kadu Khana and the custody of the city was managed by Yar Mohamed Khan.

This was the time, when Humayoun too Kandahar for the second time and proclamed himself as king and had struck his coinage as the ruler. Zaman Shah returned to Kabul immediately from Peshawar and started Kandaharwrd. As a result of the efforts Sardar Payunda Khan and his wife the tide of events turned in favour of Zaman Shah and the son of the Afghan ruler. The victory was scored in this way without fighting, and Qaisalrd as the successor of his father. and a governor, of Kandahar.

Zaman Shah's time was taken up by runing from the eastern bounderies. of his country to the western frontiers; for if he had at one time to look to the condition in the Punjab and on the banks of the Indus river; presently his presence was required in the region of Herat and Kandahar to see that Mahmud was kept in check against his inroads in the territory of his brother. Atlast Mahmud loged an open revolt against Zaman Shah; and Zaman Shah made a forced mach from the banks of the river Ravi in the Punjab to Kandahar in the year 1212 A. H. The king now sent his son prince Qaisar with Sardar to Ahmed Khan-Mir Akhour - and a strong force to Farah. Mahmud had a - retreat; and Qaisar was place at the head of the affairs of Herat by his father Zaman Shah.

But Shah Mahmud would not sit qiuetly; for with the assistance of the Persian king-Fateh Ali Sha-he launched an attack upon Herat; but Quisar's plans and the schemes of Zaman Khan annuled the effectiveness of the attaking forces and Mahmud did not receive that which he desired; and now began a series flights some time at the court of the Persians and at other in Bokhara.

When the rule of Zaman Shah was terminated as the result of the efforts of Vazir Fateh Khan, who was co-operating with Mahmud; quite naturally the governorship of prince Qaisar, too, had to be terminated in consequence. This resulted in the wondering of prince Qaisar in the westen regions of the country; till the time

when the kingdom fell into the hands of his uncle Shah shuja, when he was again appointed as the governor of Kandahar.

After that date another chapter opened in the life of prince Qaisar, which means a series of revolts which he set up againat his uncle; but the king nepeatedly forgive him in consideration of his blinded brother-Zaman Shah. It is obvious, of course, that these uprisings of the prince did not take place all by themselves.

Everyone knows that Shahshuja and Vazir Fateh Khan came together and parted several times; and on each occasion when the Vazir parted with Shahshuja, he betook himself straight to Kandahar, so that he could incite prince Qaisar to take and to revolt against his uncle the king Shahshuja. Also, it is known to every one that in this the Vazir had an especial motive; for he was in fact in search of a man from amongst the Saduzias, who coull manage the affairs of the government better. He exted the prince Qaisar several times to see whether the young prince had it in him to govern properly; but the prince could not acquit himself successfully in this direction.

At long last, when insubordination of Qaisar had gone beyond endurance, the then governor of Farah, one name Haji Firzuddin, with the order of the uncle of the young prince-Shahshuja-took Qandahar from the prince. Shahshuja, however, arrived in Kabul and nominated his nephew to the governorate of Kabul. Meantime Shair Khan, a former minister of Shahshuja, reached Kabul and induced the young prince Qaisar to go forward to Peshawar against his uncle. This Shair Mohamed Khan, had revolted against Shahshuja together with his son, after the conquest of Kashmire. These men arrived at Kabul in order to plot with one Ghayes Khan; but Shahshuja journeying by way of Dera Jat also arrived at Kabul, and spoiled the desings of the plotters. Shair Mohamed Khan and his co-operators were killed; and Qaisar, who had been hoping help from Persia was also disoppointed.

BATTLES BETWEEN SHAH MAMUD & SHAHSHUJA.

EIGHT ARTICLE

Shah Mahmud one day capturing Zaman Shah has had the king's eyes taken out, and thus blinding him, he has had him flung in dungeon at Bala hisar. Only a brief four years had to pass when in that very Bala Hisar. Shahshuja, has han Shah Mahmud incarcoicrated and released his blinded brother, During these four years, a series of battles were fought between Shah Mahmud and Shahshuga, which are known as the battles of Basul, Ishpan. Kozak, Arghistan, Kala Kazi, and Bala Hisar. Quite naturally in these battles some times one and other party was succcssful. Atlast Shahshuja arriving at Kabul from the southern regions of the country, took the capital: and the reign of Shah Mahmud was terminated.

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When the unfortunate king Zaman Shah was captured and was blinded and was imprisoned at Bala Hisar; Shah Mahmud sat on the throne of Afghaistan (1216 A.H. or 1217. A.H.) At that time the influence and the extent of the Durrani empire was fairly large; from Ghoryan upto Kashmire, up to Attack and Bluchistan and Dera Jat, all points populated by the Afghan race of Koh Sulaiman, Koh Siah, the territories of Peshawar and the fertile areas of Kashmire and the fort of Attaock was under the sway of the king of Kabul. Only in the Punjab Ranjit Singh. incited by the English had proclaimed his independence; but a protreacted time was needed to find out finally as to who was to be the ultimate master of the Punjab area.

Unfortunately as much of the difficulties in Afghanistan have risen from times, due to the personal animosity of the Sardars and relaties and the princes of the king; the fact of Zaman Shah's having been made blind, had rankled in the kind of Shahshuja that what ever way that may be possible, Mahmud must pay for his act; and attacks upon Mahmud, were, therefore, continued.

As soon as Shah Mahmud proclaimed himself as king at Bala Hisar ; immediately Shahshuja unfurled his banner at Peshawar styling him as king. The ruler, of course, was that person who was on the throne of Kabul at the time, and Shahshuja-with all that could be said about it, was still merely a prince albiet a rival to the throne ; who was out to drive conolusions with his rival. This animosity of Shah Mahmud and Shahshuja increased daily. The nobles of the clans, according to the drift of events of the time, looking to their own personal interests, allied themselves with the stronger party of the rivals.

Mehr Ali Khan, Mir Akhur Bashi, who during the last days of Zaman Khan had deserted his master (Zaman Shah), and was under arrest at Jalalabab came to Shahshuja's camp ; and in the like manner men of the type of Mohamed Akram Khan Bamyazai, known as Aminul Mulk ; and Mohamed Khan Nasaqchi Bashi left Shah Mahmud to join Shahshuja, in Peshawar. Slowly Shahshuja was persuaded to think that he was strong enough to attack Shah Mahmud at Kabul. During the reign of four years, Shah Mahmud, (1216.A.H. to 1219. A.H.) was compelled to fight a number of battles either against the princes, or the nobles sent by them ; and these battles are divided into two classes : those fought at Jalalabad and those of Arghistan. The first battle was fought between the King's Guards and the troops of the prince at Basaul. In this battle, from the side of Shah Mahmud, Abdul Wahid Khan Barak Zai, Ataullah Khan Alizai and Bluch Khan Achaqzai took on the battle against Mihr Ali Khan with five hundred horsemen from Shahshuja. The result was the victory of Shahshuja, and the leaders sent out by Shah Mahmud were repulsed. Mihr Ali Khan as a victor remained at Jalalabad, awaiting the orders of Shahshuja.

Meantime, both Shahshuja from Peshawar and Shah Mahmud from Kabul moved up against each other. Each was moving rapidly towards the other so that each may arrive earlier, prior to the arrival of reenforcement at the critical location; especially Shahshuja was keen to get to Jalalabad to consolidate the position which his commander had acquired. The forces, of Shah Shuja accompanied by their leaders and Shahshuja arrived at Ashpan ; and when they were

prepering to pitch their tents and to take their bearings ; it was then that like a whirl-wind Shah Mahmud and his son Kamran and his minister Fateh Khan and Saleh Mohamed Khan Ashaq Zai, were the vanguards of Shah Mahmud's troops threw themselves upon the enemy ; but were repulsed ; and retreated. Kamran and Fateh Khan who were leading the larger number of the troops convarged from two side ; and although Mohamed Khan Ashmaghri and Allah Yar Khan of Bajour, as the leaders of the tribes of Mahnand and Khalil were killed ; the victory of Shahshuja was change into a defeat. Shahshuja's men were scattered. and he himself had to take refuge in the valleys of the Safaid Koh. Inspite of the fact that he had penetration and influence amongst the people of Kuream, Terah, and amungst the people of the Afridi and Khaybar tribes ; the victorious prince Kamran made straight for Peshawar and after settling affairs there place the region under the governorship of Abdul Wahid Khan Barakzai. Triumphantly, he himself and his father as a reward installed him as a governor of Kandahar.

Shahshuja, however, lived a long amongst the hills and valleys of Tirah and Khyber with his retainers, and all the time continued to increase his followers. The tribal people had a partiality towards him anaccount of his previous records ; thus they swelled his ranks in large and small numers and increased the number of his followers. Finding the power of his fighting men increasing , he tried to test his strength at Peshawar, but he could not succeed. He therefore resolved that leaving the eastern provinces, and taking a southern route, he should nogociate the valleys of the Siah Koh and Sulaiman mountains and skiriting the regions of Dera Jat, he must join the tribal people of Wazirs . Thence he thought of taking the road to Shikarpour ; it was thus that Shah Shuja, taking a limited number of fighting men from the Wazirs and the Kakars arrived at Shikarpour. From there he moved towards Sialcot towards Kojak. In as much as Shah Mahmud. especialy his son Kamran, was aware of the desins of Shahshuja, battles were fought at Kojak and Arghsitan between the followers of Shahshuja and the ruler of Kabul. Saleh Mohamed Khan Ghilzai, who at the head of one thousand horsemen was sent out to face Shahshuja was deafeated ; and

Shahshuja reached the regions of Arghistan, When then this trouble had first fieared up, Kamran, had sought help from his uncle, who was the governor of Herat-one named Haji Firovzuddin-as the result thereof two thousand horsemen, under the leadership of Malik Qasim arrived for the help of the nephew of the governor of Herat, to Kandahar. Kamran found a force of his own at Kandahar amounting to three thousand horsemen. With this five thousand horsemen he moved to Arghistan. The strength of Kamran's troops motified Shahshuja ; and converged his movements from Arghistan towards the areas of the Ghizais and the Kakars. In that region, at a place called Mina the prince Qaisar joined him. Shahshuja now divided his men into two groups ; one of the section was sent towards Kandahar under the leadership of the prince Qaisar, Madad Khan-the Mir Akhour Bashi, and Shadi Khan Achakzai; and he himself marched on to Kabul by way of Zormut. The time was the yea 1219,A.H. when circumstances, too, helped Shahshuja, for the people of Kabul helping Shahshuja fell upon Shah Mahmud, and Shah Mahmud, therefore, besieged himself at Bala Hisar. This news assisted Shahshuja, and he therefore, hurried with great speed towards Kabul. This scheme succeeded, for Shahshuja who now had at his disposal on less than one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men reached Kabul; and took Bala Hisar; and this time Shah Mahmud was flung in the dungeon of Bala Hisar.

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WAZIR FATEH KHAN.

ARTICLE NINTH

Amongst 27 sons of Timour Shah and 21 sons of Sardar Payunda Khan which; constitute two sections of princes of Sadar Zais and Sardars of Barakzais the one who held at title of King's Friend and the Head of the Ministers was the one man. who des-pite all the disturbances and family fueds in the beginning of the 19th. century of the Christian Era continued to steady the throne of Shah Mahmud-despite the weakness of the ruler-was Wazir Fateh Khan. he was able to perform much in the interest of the country; but a lazzy king, vitioted courtiers, and a highly jealous son of the king

removed a man, who wos the protector of them, and their system; thus precipitated such a unheavals he territory. The loss of which is hard to estimate.

Sirdar Payanda Khan had twenty one sons; and they had been called by the European historians as the Barkzai Brothes. The man who towered above them all in regards to great power of persua tion, sagactiy in matters of the state, in deacifying tactics, in work-ing the matters of the realm according to the spirit of the age and the Afghan spirit; thus the English writers had given him (Fateh Khan) the title of King Maker. This appallation fitted this great Afghan Sirdar to a fault.

His father was assas-inated in the year (1214.A.H.) at Kandahar on account of the mistakes of Shah Zaman and the intrigues of the courtiers. This incident, quite naturally had moved as it moved his brothers to anger and revenge, and thus much that had happened after that period of history is compleioned by that sad tragedy: indeed, those sentiments lasted for and seventy five years. The first manifestation of this when the then king Zaman Shah was opposed by Fateh Khan-the son of the assassinated Sirdar Payanda Khan. He (Fateh Khan) joined issues with another rival of the thorne with him; namely Shah Mahmud; thus it would be seen that the Afghan kingdom was first taken from Zaman Shah, and then from Shahshuja: so that Shah Mahmud ascended the throne for the second time; and that Fateh Khan was first installed as The best Friend of the king (Shah Mahmud) and then raised to the high dignity of the Great Minister.

Althought that after the nssassination of Sirdar Payanda Khan fierce animosity arose between the two most important Houses those of the Saduzaie and the Barakzais, co-operation between these two Houses of Nobles did not entirely disappear; for it would be seen that when he was opposing Shahshuja, he was helping the other Saduzai namely Shah Mahmud. But unfortunately, Shah Mahmud did not fully realise the value of the help of his devoted co-operator in Fateh Khan, or correctly appraise the help that he was giving to the benefit of the people. Fateh Khan wan all the time in search of finding a right person to rule; such as

the prince Kamran or Qaisar; and it was his choice which brought Shah Mahmud to the throne after the defeat of Shahshuja. Fateh Khan and all his brothers came forward to assist the new ruler-Shah Mahmud with all their might and prestige, (Faheh Khan (apart from the two real brothers; Shahshuja and Zaman Shah) had an intimate relationship with the government of the country. He it was, who never tolerated that those who lay at far and wide distances of the country, should interfere in the management of the land and raise a standard of revolt against the established rule of the king at Kabul. He, it was, who removed Ataullah Khan Bamizai from the post of governership of Kashmire; and disensed with the services of Haji Firouzuddin from his appointment of Herat Governorate. His attitude in removing these two persons, possibly as reactionary, was not only to establish the authority of the Central Government at Kabul; but also he thought that in these two rather important outposts of the kingdom very important and capable persons ought to be sent, because the Sikhs on the one side and Persians on the other were factors which had to delt with considerable delicacy and strength at one and the same time.In the matter of Kashmire, for instance,when battles took-place between the forces of Ranjit Singh and the Afghans;he (Fateh Khan) was present and in other battle against the Persias at Meshad with Hasan Ali Mirza his interest in both of these sections of war is significant factor to attest to the importance which he attached to these two corners of the Afghan dominions. It was thus, that the rule of Shah Mahmud had been consolided as possessing a central strenght at Kabul. Unfortunately, as such selfless workers, ss a rule develop a group of rivals and jealous adverseries; these who belonged to the king's family themselves begin to harbour suspicious against Fateh Khan; despite the fact that these men received the title of kingship through no other, than Fateh Khan's endeavours. It was Kamran, the son of the King, who was at the time a governor of Kandahar, that wrote to his fathe- at Kabul jn 1231 A.H. from Herat as followed: The ememy was once an ant, which developed into a serpent: remove thou that ant which had become the serpent: Do not give further chance through thy idlleness and disregard to that serpent; for that snake might yet become a

python. . . . .,Kamran, however. more. He invited the Vazir to a feast at Herat, and blinded him ; and imprisoned him there : all this happening prior to his letter reached Kabul . After that he started towards Kandahar and Kabul. Afterwards they assassinated him (Fateh Khan with utmost barbarity near a place called Saidabad on the road to Ghazni in 1234. A. H. and he was burried within the precints of the graveyard of Sheikh Raziuddin Ali Lala.

On his grave the fllowing epitaph is engraven:

"Alas ! with the death of Fateh Khan due to the cruelity of the evil forces of the world had embittered the cup of life ! He was a Durrani. and Barakzai and an Elder of the Clan ; like his father he was too "kingly" and of high honour. It was he that brought the wondering Shah Mahmud to the throne from Herat's wildernesses. He was the most noted Vazir amongst all men of Persia and Iraq ; atlast he, the man of great status and renoun. brought the king to the position, where he could take his revenge from his rivals and enemies. Kandahar . Kabul . Sindh and Khorasan were all reduced with his sword of justice and all lands were given peace and conntentment . He marched . too, to Meshad .to reduce Iraq. His gifts were greater than those of Hatim Tai. His battles against the Persians dimmed the power and war-adventures of Rustom amongst the Persians. and much else is written in panegeric tone about him.

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MUKHTARUDOWLLAH : SHAIR MOHAMED KHAN.

(The Bamizai and Shashuja.)

TENTHE ARTICLE

Amongst the Bamanzais, Shair Mohamad Khan, Mukhtarudowllah has a high reputation. He was a minrster of Shahshuja. The importance of this man of great experience and prestige was due to the fact that he and his brothers and sons he was able to carry through matters of great importance and delicacy. Mukhtarudowllah. and members of his family had expectations to garnish their own interests after the fall of Kashmire. Sometimes, these

expectations used to receive encouragements from outside the country and contrived to sway them from the proper discharge of their duties faithfully. Particulars of these matters are not without interest. Mukhtarudowllah, who was a minister of the court of Shahshuja, revolted against his master and cholenged him battle in which he was ultimately killed.

* * *

Amongst the Bamazias, who were employed at the court of Shahshuja, the man who was given great honour and prestige was one named Shair Mohamed Khan. At one time he was responsible for government matters relatives to high affairs of the state. His place during the beginning of the reign of Shahshuja was peerless at the court. Slowly, however, another person, by the name of Mohamed Akram Khan also hailing from the Bamazais found favour at the court of the king; and was installed as a minister of the king. When the Kashmire afair flared up, because the governor there, one named Abdullah Khan Alkozai, seem to with-hold the revenue transmission of Kashmire; and the reduction of Kashmire came a point of urgency; the king appointed Shair Mohamed Khan as the governor of Kashmire, at the request of Shair Mohamed Khan himself. With great skill and valour Shair Mohamed Khan wrestled the Kashmire valley from the hands of the insurgent Abdullah Khan Alkozai; and the newly appointed officer of the king had then a great desire that he would be allowed to remain at Kashmire as the adminitrator on behalf of the king. But Shahshuja required the help and advice of such a man as Shair Mohamed Khan in domestic matters of the state: and perhaps more particularly, thinking that his old Vazir might not proclaim Kashmire as his own; he (Shahshuja) refused the request of Shair Mohamed Khan. The king, however, devised a scheme, whereby the Vazir could be annoyed, nor by remaining there he might assume a ruler's importance at Kashmire. He appointed the son of Shair Mohamed Khan, one named Atta Mohamed Khan, as the governor of Kashmire; and commanded that Shair Mohamed Khan should come to the capital.

When Shair Mohamed Khan was in Kashmire and Shashuja was at Peshawar, prince Kamran attacked Kandahar accompanied with Faith Khan; driving the prince Qaiser from Kandahar. It might be recalled that Qaisar was appointed as the governor by Shashuja. Shahshuja immediately arrived at Kabul; and moved his troops to meet the advancing of prince Kamran and Fateh Khan then at Kandahar. But prior to leaving Peshawar, as has been related, Shahshuja, had sent for Shair Mohamed Khan: but he (Shair Mohamed Khan) paid little attention to the Royal Commands. Even the repeated orders of the king in this respect were dis-regarded by Shair Mohamed Khan. This disobeyance of Shair Mohamed Khan was accounted by some historians due to several reasons: firstly, it was thought that the power of the king-Shahshuja-was not great enough; secondly that the strength of Shair Mohamed Khan on account of his victories at Kashmire had emboldened him; and a third explanation is given that Abdullah Khan who was defeated in Kashmire by the order of the king, was yet a power to reckon with in Kashmmir All these factors might have operated in this situation. Also, it is related that the influence of the once defeated and humbled Akram Khan-of Khashmire intransigney-was now making itself felt at court at Kabul also. Slowly, Shair Mohamed Khan, who so far has been the devoted servant and the wel-wisher to the king's interests, now openly became opposed to the king. The first action of this kind was, of course, that he did not obey Commands sent to him from Peshawar. This too, was considered a grave act of disloyalty; for through his absence, Shahshuja was left alone to face the onslaught of Kamran at Kandahar, in which Shah huja was defeated. When, however, he Shair Mohamed Khan, ultimately did arrive at Kabul, and finding prince Qaisar as the governor at the capital; he incited the nephew of Shahshuja to raise a standard of revolt against his uncle; whilst the King Arghandab. Success attained his plans to a certain extent: for the strategum induced prince Qaisar to ally himself with Shair Mohamed Khan. They thought the time to be ripe; for the king was way near Kandahar and at othe time at the Indus regions. They considered the idea o capture Peshawar. Khaja Mohamed Khan with some other nobles, which included some of the elders of Hamizais were sent out towards Peshawar to

capture that city. These nobles had no difficulty in wrestling that city from the hands of Gulsitan Khan Achakzai, who had been appointted as the governor of Peshawar. With the help of Shair Mohsmed Khan, the prince Qaisar was able by these movements to spread his influence from Kabul to Peshawar.

Whilst this was happening in the east: Shahshuja was making all possible efforts to see whether he could persuade Fateh Khan and the Barak Zai brothers to come to his help and assist him against Kamran at Kandahar. He offered to give the title of the Sirdar of The Sirdars to Fateh Khan: and gave the gift of one lakh of rupees with Robes of Honour and a horse to Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan. With this reconcilation, the Barakzai brothers and Mohamed Akram Khan accnipamby the King sailled forth towards Sindh to receive the revenue due to them. The inhabitants of Sindh had been the subjects of Sadu Zai Durranis for a long time, and as a rule did not delay the payment of revenues; though some of the nobles, thinking of their interests, used to incite the people towards the non-payments of the king's dues. On the arrival of the king at Sindh, although they were ready to pay that which was due, yet there was some hesitation in the actual amount to be paid. Fateh Khan seeing the attitude of the people of the Sindh of the time, advised that if he (the king) was to step steps according to his views, they could get thirty lakhs of rupees and the people will give that sum with great ease and with pleasure. But the king paid greater attention to the plans of Mohamed Akram Khan, which meant that no more than five lakhs of rupees could be got together. The result was that Fateh Khan and Doust Mohamed Khan, became annoyed with the king for the second time; and left for Kandahar. Leaving the king's men at Haiderabad, they moved towards Shikar Pour. The king realising his mistake, reconcile himself with the Barakzai Brothers, and as a result Dost Mohamed Khan was once again came within the pale of the king's influence, and also persuaded his brothers to do the same. Now the whole group were amalgameted to the opposition of prince Qaisar, and Shair Mohamed Khan. We had related that those

who had been sent out to capture Peshawar from Gulistan Khan-the governor appointed there by Shahshuja-had taken that city in the name of prince Qaisar. The fall of Peshawar induced Shahsnuja to march from Shikarpour to Dera Ghazi Khan; but as soon as his back was turned, Fateh Khan and his brother again overthrew the allegience of Shahshuja and returned to Kandahar. Some have it that in this fresh discord, the hand of Shair Mohamed Khan was also operative: who is said to have written to these Sirdars to desert their master and friend Shahshuja. News of this greatly disturbed the king, and without further recourse in this matter, he moved on to Kohat, with all possible speed. From there he reached a village named Mutaiz-some ten miles from Peshawar in the Mahmand area. Khaja Mohamed Khan and Yahya Khan Bamyazai, who it might be recollected were sent by Shair Mohamed Khan and prince Qaiser to evict Gulsitan Khan from Peshawar, could not face Shahshuja in battle; so that Shahshuja once again took Peshawar in the year 1808. A. D. and the two commanders of Shair Mohamed Khan beat a retreat to Kabul. The time was when the former Vazir of Shahshuja accompained by prince Qaisar having left Kabul was nearing Peshawar. They were about to enter Peshawar near Shuqadar, - town near the confluence of the two rivers-when Khaja Mohamed Khan and Yahya Khan joined them. Some historians have stated that near Tahkal, not far from Pashawar, the twelve thousand troops of Shair Mohamed Khan faced the forces of Shahshuja on the 3 rd. of March 1808. and it was possible that the forces of Shashuja may be repulsed; but the King's Guards stuck to their guns, and Shair Mohamed Khan fell. His brother Haji Pir Mohamed Khan was taken prisoner, and was killed by the command of the king. Khaja Mohamed Khan, too, was slain in this engagement. so that the apparent defeat of Shahshuja was transfered into victory. Prince Qaiser, having lost his helpers of the Bamizais. fled towards Kabul, and Shahshuja enterd Peshawar in triumph. As he entered the city, troopers showed the severed head of the slain vazir Shair Mohamed Khan-Shair Mohamed Khan, the Minister of Ministers of the king at one time-who enoyed the prestige second to none at the court of the one against whom he revolted and was ultimately slain.

SHAHSHUJA IN FIELD OF BATTLE.

Note: The battle which took place between the forces Shair Mohamed Khan-Mukhtaru-Doullah-and Shah Shuja in the neighbourhood of Peshawar is one of those severe engagements, in which Shahshuja's forces had but lost. At that occasion, not only did his troops showed great courage and valour: but the king himself taking the sword in hand leaped into the thick of the fighting: In this battle such tribal men as from Khalil Mahmand, and Ghualm Khan assisted Shahshuja. On the other side of the Durrani Sirdars, like Madad Khan Ishaqzai, Mohamed Azam Khan Nasaqchi Bashi, Mohamed Akram Khan Aminul Mulk and Abdul Ghafur Khan Populzai fought with gallentry and persistence. The king himself -Shahshuja-faced the brother of Shair Mohamed Khan one named Knaja Mohamed Khan with sword in hand; but as he wore armour, the sword did not do its work effectively; so that the guardsmen of the king fired at the man, and felld him from his horse. Other Sirdar, in another corner of the battle faced with the Sirdar Madad Khan and Mohamed Azam Khan could not hold their grounds: and Shahshuja covered with glory entered the city of Peshawar.

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ATTA MOHAMAD KHAN BAMIZAI

ELEVINTH ARTICLE

From the point of view of personal qualities, and due to his skill in managing the king's realm; Attaullah Khan, the son of Shair Mohamed Khan-Mukhtaru-Doullah-was the best example of Bamyazai nobles. He was made the governor of Kashmire, as would be recalled by Shahshuja, when his father Shair Mohamed Khan had refused to come back to Kabul by the Royal command. Attaullah Khan's record of excellent discharge of duties in Kashmire has been laudably penned, But unfortunately that which arises in the minds of the rivals and men of jealousy against the best servants of the realm in the hearts of others, had made, too, its appearance. It contributed to the reaction; till forces against him were overwhelming, and he was deprived of his sight; thus another servant of the king was plunged into the darkness for the rest of his life.

Attaullah Bamyazai. regarding whose life work this is being reserved, was the son of Shair Mohamed Khan Bamayazai; who had been installed to the appointment of a minister during the time of Shah-Shuja. His title was Mukhtaru- Doullah; and he had acquired a great influence. There is no doubt that those who belonged to this family had been installed upon big or lesser appointments during the reign of Sadu Zai kings. since Timour Shah. History of the country mentions their name as such. Amongst these Shair Mohamed Khan and his son Attaullah Khan are especially included. This father and son are especially mentioned in relation to their activities during the rule of Shah Mahmud and Shahshuja. This connection, too, are divided into two parts: one is when Attaullha Khan was all in all as a governor of Kashmire, when his discharging of his duties had endeared him not only to his king Shah Shuja also to the people ot Kashmire. The other aspect of his life was when smitten by the jeolousy of his rivals. and being disgarced. he had to forfeit his eyes, and be plunged into the darkness till the end of his life.

Attaullah Khan's name will remain as one. whose term of office in Kashmire was a long one. and that over whom he ruled, too, were greatly satisfed by his behaviour. In the beginning Attaullah Khan was appointed as the governor of Abdullah Khan Alkawazi, who appointed there first by Zaman Shah: and that during the first years of reign of Shah Mahmud. this Abdullah Khan, had continued as governor of Kashmire as before. When Shahshuja, however, came upon the throne, and found that Attatullah was not so regular in sending in the revenue of Kashmire to the central government: he appointed Shair Mohamed Khan to dismantle him (Abdllah Khan) which he did. Shahshuja gave the Govership to the son of Mukhtaru-Doula and recalled Shair Mohamed Khan back to Kabul. When Shair Mohamed Khan noticed the difficulties in which his master-Shahshuja* was with Shah Mahmud, he (Sair Mohamad) defied the call of his king and did not come to Kabul. But when he (Shair Mohamed Khan) did eventually return to Kabul, and Shahshuja was meantime absent from the capital, he excite the urge of the young prince

Qaiser, and which resulted in a battle between Shahsuja's forces and those mastered by the youn prince and Shair Mohamed Khan ; in which Shair Mohamed and some of his followers of Ganiyazai were killed . This incident opend two paths before the son of the slain Vazir Shair Mohamed at Kashmire: either to declare himself as independent ruler at Kashmire or to give a better account of his duties as the loyal subject of his ma-ter-Shahshuja.

The continunance of hostilities between Shahshuja and Shah Mahmud and his allies like Vazir Fateh Khan gave a further chance to Attaullah Khan to strength his position the more in Kashmire. Circumstances so contrived the situation that after the fall of Shahshuja-that is in the first occasion-Attaulah continued to be at Kashmire. When the second cycle of rule of Shah Mahmud opened with the help of Vazir Fateh Khan consolidated the position of Shah Mahmud so that both Sindh and Dera Jat camewithin the orbit of the Saduzai rule. Affairs of realm, more particularly the two frontier provinces of Herat and Kashmire came within the personal attention of Vazir Fateh Khan. In the first province at the head of affairs was Haji Firouz Khan and in Kashmire was Attaullah Khan as governor.

Attaullah had by now assumed tremendous power in Kashmire. and did not present himself at the central administration at Kabul. Nor was it all, but he thought of taking over the regions of Peshawar and amalgamating it with that over which he had been ruling so long. In order to make that dream a reality, he despatched his two brothers, namely Samandar Khan and Jahandad Khan to Peshawar and by an odd chance, managed to capture Shahshuja himself ; and sent him to Kashmire. In this manner, it so happened that Attaullah Khan had become so powerful that when two kings-like Shahshuja and Shah Mahmud-were strugling for power and throne of Afghanistan ; and the two great Houses of Nobles-like the Barakzais and the Sadu Zais-were also wabbling in the sea of battle of rivals ; he was regarded as the third force in the strugle as the governor of Kashmire. These affairs took such a grave turn that Vazir Fateh Khan who was very sensitive in regards to the loyaltv of the outl-

ying provinces, for the unity and solidarity of the realm; noticing the intragency of Attaullah Khan of Kashmire, advised Shah Mahmud to settle the issue once and for all times in relation to Kashmire and its disloyal governor Attaullah.

Shah Mahmud leading a large force started out for Kashmire; but when they were still at Peshawar, when difficulties with regards to the Prince Abbas came upon the scene; which compelled Shah Mahmud to return to Kabul. Next year to that Vazir Fateh Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan started out to Kashmire. Attaullah agreed to pay three lakhs of the revenue of the land; but he did not vindicate his promise. This resulted in a battle. Attaullah Khan was defeated and fled to the mountains of Maran, and Vazir Fateh Khan appointed his brother Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan as the governor of Kashmire. Intercession of scholars and clergy made Vazir Fateh Khan not to do anything to Attaullah Khan. Atlast, he Attaullah, skirting by way of Dera Jat, arrived at Kandahar to join Kamran.

After pacifying the issue of Kashmire, Vazir Fateh Khan travelled westward to Herat; where he removed the local influence of Haji Firouz Khan. There he further aggravated the views of the Kachars against the Ghours, and further excited the rivalry of Kamran also Attaullah, too, who was over-pleased with the above mentioned, joined the enemies of Fateh Khan. Both of them went to Herat and in the crime of blinding the Vazir; on the part of the helped prince Kamran. After these events, when Shah Mahmud was himself going towards Kandahar, he left his son Jahangir and Attaullah at Kabul. Much time had not passed, when Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan and Yar Mohmed Khan, reached Kabul as well. Jahangir gave himself up, and Attallah Khan, for the crime of taking part in the crime of blinding the Vazir Fateh Khan was blinded himself. Ever aftear that his life was spent in misfortune and in disgrace and want,

SIRDAR MOHAMED AZEEM KHAN

TOWELTH ARTICLE

After Vazir Fateh Khan, the brother of his one named Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, was considered a man of great experience and foresight; amongst the Barkzais, He was made a governor of Kashmire. It was possible, too, that in capturing Kabul, he could have taken throne by overpowering his brothers. But Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, knowing the spirit of the times and discovering the right time had prepared the ground for himself. A great wealth which belonged to Azeem, which could have assisted him in bring the great and the lesser men of his family around him. was, however, became the cause of rivalry of his brothers. He could not battle against the Sikhs also, and in any case his sudden death: and atlast his son Habibullah Khan became mad, A sad end, indeed:

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After Vazir Fateh Khan, Sardar Mohamed Azeem Khan was regarded as the most important person amongst the Barakzai Brothers. Till the Ashraful Wozara was alive, both Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan acted as his "shadows". At the time when Fateh Khan wanted to get the throne for the second time for Shah Mahmud, and had started for Kabul; he had sent Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan towards Peshawar so that he should prevent the coming of Shahshuja to Kabul. But as a battle that took place at a place called Bala Bagh in the east, when Shahshuja had no less than twenty thousand men with him whom he had brought from Peshawar. Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan could not withhold the attack, and had to retire towards the Safaid Koh. But Vazir Fateh Khan accompained by Shah Mahmud reached eastwards and gave battle to Shahshuja, in which at Nimla Shahshuja was defeated, and Shah Mahmud for the second time ascende the throne.

The very first command which now was issued by Vazir Fateh Khan for Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan was, to go strai-

ght to Kandahar and along with Prince Kamran to proceed towards Peshawar and to capture that city. Also, he was commanded to collect the revennes of Dera Jat areas. This was to be done by his brothers Jabbar Khan and his Scribe one named Mirza Ali Khan. But from that time could be seen that was very anxious to collect funds for himself.

In as much as Shah Mahmud had deputed practically all the affairs of the state into the hands of his Vazir Fateh Khan, the Vazir-Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan was appointed as the governor of Peshawar. Peshawar of that time was considerd as one of the fine citiy of the Saduzai kingdom. It was regarded with certain amount of consideration: because if on one side Attaullah Khan, as the governor impelled by his progressive importance as the Governor, wanted to anex the city of Peshawar into his jurisdiction; whilst on the other, the king without a throne namely Shahshuja, who then lived at Lahore was always of thought to secure Peshawar. In all these plans of Shahshuja, Attaullah helped Shahshuja. This fact gave that city a unique position as the focai point of attention both to the central Saduzai king at Kabul, and Shahshuja for his personal considerations.

In the first struggle the Bamyazais like Ghulam Mohamed Khan, the brother of Attaullah Khan and Yahya Khan, helped the Shah without the throne-Shehsuja-in fact they did manage to detach Peshawar from the government of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan. For a period of four months was in the hands of Shahshuja, and Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan had to beat a retreat to Kabul. For the second time, however,taking a much larger force, Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Knan moved against the Shahshuja-held Peshawar. Despite the fact that his brother (Azeem Khan) was killed in the engagement, yet he was successful in winning the city of Peshawar and its area for his master Shah Mahmud. Later on the Bamyazais sent re-enforcements to help Shahshuja with the result that Sirdar Azeem Khan was defeated once again; and taking a route by way of Bungas and Kohat reached Kabul. The city of Peshawar in name remained with Shahshuja, but in reality the goverorns of the place were Bamyazai nobles, namely

Ghulam Mohamed Khan and Samandar Khan. These two brothers no doubt, on behest of their brother, who was the govenor of Kashmire, one Attaullah Khan, Shahshuja was arrested and sent as a prisoner to Kashmire. The influence of Attaullah Khan, thus was paramount from Kashmir to Peshawar.

In as much as Vazir Fateh Khan regarded the instruction of the governors of the outlandish parts of the kingdom as the source of the government, he started with the king-Shah Mahmud-taking his brother Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mahamed Khan with him towards Kashmire. Peshawar could not with-stand opposition both times; and Kashmire on the second occasion, that is in the year 1227. A.H. (1812. A.D.) was wrentched from out of the hands of Attaullah Khan. As a reward of the services of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, the governship was entrusted to him; so that the last governor of Peshawar became the governor of Kashmire. The Bamyazais after their disappointment and hopelessness resorted to a mean device; for one named Jahan Dad Khan, one of the brothers of Attaullah Khan sold the fort of Attock to Ranjit Singh for a sum of one lakh of rupees. This was the occasion, when the Sikhs started their military deprividation in the realm of the Saduzais. As a result of this in July 1814. A. D. (1232. A. H.) Rajit Singh started a war against Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan found further strength through this victory.

Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, as the result of these wars, was not too keen to pay the revenue of Kashmire to the central treasury of the kingdom. Also, as the aggression of the Sikhs, which increased daily, could no longer be tolerated, Vazir Fateh Khan started out towards Kashmire in the year 1816. A. D. There was a likelyhood that a fight insure between him and his brother: but the intercession of his other brother-Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan-the fight did not take place, and a settlement was arrived at. After the payment of thirteen Lakhs of rupess as the revenue, he was allowed to continue on the governorship. He was still at Kashmire, when his brother Fateh Khan was rendered blind and was ultimately killed, and the relations of the Barakzai Brothers were strained with Shah

Mahmud Saduzai, and revenge of the clans started. At that time Sirdar Azeem Khan leaving his brother, one named Jabbar Khan, at Kashmire and journeyed by way of Peshawar to Kabul. The result of this internecine was the Sikhs took Kashmire. The date being 1235. A. H. or 1819. A. D.

During this period of history when the princes of Saduzai, made apparent their unfitness due to their loose-ling and by their extravagants, the Barkzai Brothers were in search of a real leader for the rulership of the kingdom. There was a conflict between Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed khan. The scene of this struggle, too, was in Kabul. Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, who had a precedence, both in regards to age and wealth amongst all his brothers, but Sirdar operated with greater wisdom and foresight. For a time both of these brothers struggled against each other in the name of their king-protegee Ayub Shah and Sultan Ali Shah. This tussel moved around Kabul, Ghazni, Kohistan and Kohat and Sindh. Ranjit Singh, as was but natural took advantage of these animosities and started to inroad Peshawar (1238. A. H. 1822. A. D.). Sirdar Yar Mohamed Khan, who was the governor of Peshawar on behalf of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan sought help from that Sirdar from Kabul. But unfortunately, limitless wealth had effected the Sirdar in Kabul and had his followers deserted at the fort of Machina, where the Sikhs had nearly overpowered them, and the promise of governorship of Peshawar to Yar Mohamed Khan on the part of Ranjit Singh on the other, had weekend the Afghan resistence. Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan turned his face from Peshawar; and at a point between Jalalabad and Kabul was taken ill by dysentry, and died at the age of 38 at Kotal Lata Band. His body was brought to Kabul, which was enturned at the grave yard of Ashiqan Arafan, from the following conplet his date of death could be made out:

"If they ask the year of his death, say:
In the Heaven he found a Place".

TWO KINGS IN ONE PALACE.

THIRTIETH ARTICLE

The assassination of Payunda Khan and the collapse of the kingdom of Zaman Shah was in reality the beginning of the end of the reign of the Saduzai rule. The sad action of blinding of the Vazir Fateh Khan and his assassination not only brought about disruption between the two most important families of nobles, but also it opened a gateway of trouble which admitted much discord from the advent of the first quarter of the 19th. century to the middle of that centuy. During this period of the time, when the Saduzai dynosity had lost its prevogative, and the government of the Mahomedzais had not yet established, and one of the historians call that period as the "Period of the Rise of the Borekzais", was due to the disturbances that occurred during the time, when the hand of the relatives was raised against his relative; and lueds reigned supreme everywhere occasioning those regretable incidents which distress our minds upto the 19th. century, and even upto a later period.

* * *

Contrary to the saying that no two kings can exist in one kingdom; in our country, not only two kings lived in one kingdom, in one city, but even one palace; between the years of 1818. A. D. and 1924. A. D. (in the years of end of the first quarter of the 19th. century of Christian Era.)

Because the cooperation, of two important Houses of Nobles, namely the Barakzais and Saduzais for the second time was

disturbed on account of blinding of Vazir Fateh Khan and his late asassination, (1818 A. D.-1924. A. D.). Inorder to take revenge the brothers of the dead wazir Fateh Khan collected at a fort in a village of Hindiki and a "council of war" took place. At that time, too, Purdil Khan and his brothers had taken Kandahar from Gul Mohamed Khan Populzai, who was appointed by Shah Mahmud; the last named king, when in flight was not able to take reufge even at Kandahar. He, therefore, skirting by way of Diraoot, Farah took the road to Herat. This was time, too, when the fugitive Saduzai king had still an influence at Herat. Shahshuja was then at Ludhiana as a mere wonderer and in trorble. The larger part of the country froni Nad Ali in Hamoun Seistan to Kashmire and Sind was in possesssion of the Barakzai Brothers.

When Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan moved towards Peshawar and to Kabul at the command of his brother Sirdar Azeem Khan, as the result inorder to seek a revenge of the atrocities committed by Shah Mahmud's men, he installed the prince Ayub son of Timour as the king at Peshawr. This done, he moved on to Kabul. In the meantime, Shahshuja, through the invitation of Mohamed Azeem Khan arrived at Peshawar. Quite, naturally he had to remove Shah Ayub from his pedestal. Mohamad Azeem Khan moved down to Peshawar but his Pact with Shah Shuja did not take shape, The prince Ayub was taken into his favour.

When Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan took Kabul from Jahangir the son of Kamran, immediately he placed another prince of Saduzai one named Sultan Ali son fo Timour Shah on the throne of Kabul. He himself acted as his Vazir. This act of the kings

and Vazirs, dispossed Kamran and his father Shah Mahmud, who took refuge in Kabul and Ghazni, and when all this was taking place, Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan arrived at Kabul. He had installed his brothers nominee Ayub as the king, and had named himself as his minister.

It was in this way that two nobles as ministers lived in Kabul. There is of course, little doubt that these rather unknown Saduzai princes, who lived as "kings" at one and the same place, had not become kings at their own option; and were kings but in name, for all power was tested in the hands of their minsters; who in their turn had their personal plans.

The anamolous position which was thus created was due to the faet amongst all the Barakzai Brothers, who by now, held the major part of the country within their grasp, could not find or could not agree to find, one amongst them to rule the country; and who could look after the central government. The two brothers, Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, who in reality wished to rule, could not bring themselves forward as real claiments of the throne; atleast not directly. Such a procedure would have precipitated a conflict in the minds of others. By the method of placing rather week princes at the throne, they had in mind to rule themselves. Ayub Shah (the protegee of Azeem Khan) and Sultan Ali, afterwards known as Sultan Ali Shah-as the nominee of Sirdar Doust Mohemod Khan did not desist from opposing each other knew that-each a support of a power noble. Atlast Sultan Ali Shah was strangled at the hands of the son of Ayub Shah at Bala Hisar in his bed chamber; thus one of the twin-kings was removed. Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan managed to rule with his protegee for a time. He also journeyed to do battle in far and near corners of the countries, such as in Sindh and Peshawar. His son Habibullah Khan was elected as his father's successor. Ayub Shah was still on the throne, at Balah Hisar and desired to "depatch" Habiullah at the hands of his son Ismail, when Purdil Khan reached in time: killed Ismail and dethroned Ayub and released Habibullah. This was the manner in which the line of Saduzai kings-came to the end at Kabul.

Circumstances were enfolding significant happenings then ; for surrounding Afghan matters, the English had reached the regions of the Punjab and Sindh ; Ranjit Singh had bought the Attock fort from Ghulam Mohamed Khan and Jahandad Khan the Bamyazais ; and the collaps of the Saduzai dynasty had been completed ; and the Barakzai kingdom had not spring up so far. The weekness of the situation was significant ; two weekling kings sat at the throne in Balah Hisar, the country was rend from one corner to another by fueds and feudal lords ; and the English were marching westwards step by step towards Afghanistan. The Sikh Maharajas were now in possession of Kashmire, Multan Dera Jat and Peshawar ; till that region was surrendered to the Servants of the East India Company.

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TWO KINGN IN ONE CITY.

FORTEENTH ARTICLE

The years 1838. A. D. and 1842, A. D. which seperate the duration of the rule of Amir Doust Mohammed , was the time when Shahshuja backed by the English ; and English backed by Shahshuja entered Afghanistan. This took place because the elected king of the country was not in the running and that the hand of the foreigners operated in all directions. During the six months of that time of trouble, two kings faced each other at Kabul; one of whom was fighting with the power of the strangers and the other was backed the nation spirit of the people".

* * *

In the previous narrative we have mentioned the difficult days of Bala Hisar life in Kabul; here again we desire to say something about the two kings at Kabul. One of these lived in great luxury and magnificence of Royalty ; whilst the other existed in the poor man's quarters. Other lived in his own house as an ordinary man in the city. There is some diffirence between these two kings and those named above, however, for these two were the Saduzai princes. They had come forward as the nominees of two Barakzai Nobles ; and these two kings were Barakzais and the other was from the Saduzais. One of

them was a protegee of the English and was hated by the people; and the other was the one whom people had elected

When the English had taken half of India; and in order to protect their possession in India, they had to progress further afied into central Asian territories and had taken a political refuge in the scare the danger of the coming of Napoleon eastwards; and by this ruse had entered our country, "to protect Afghanistan from the danger of the French conquerer" but in reality to protect their own trading interests and their empire, and had put to flight the legally elected king of Afghanistan Bokharawards. Shahshuja Saduzai was placed for the second time upon the throne of Afghanistan after 23 years of his exile from the country in 1838 A. D. to 1842 A. D. Shahshuja, however, ruled only in name, for all power of administration was in the hands of Macnaughton. The English troops had occupied the regions stretching from Kandahar and Garishk to Kilat Ghilzai to Ghazni, Wardak, Kabul Charikar and Jalalabad. During those four years of turmoil and disress if the nation Shahsuja and Macaughton the people did not desist from making every possible effort. When however cruelity and harsh treatment had reached its apogee the leaders of the nation, collected round Abdullah Khan Achkzai and Aminullah Khan Logari and held a number of meetings. They planed certain schemes one day in the first ten days of the month of Ramazan 1258. A. H. (November 1840. A. D.) and elected Nawab Mohammed Zaman Khan son of Nawab Asad Khan-the grandson of Sirdar Payanda Khan as their king. Afterwards on the 18th. Ramazan (second of November) they started to act. After the murder of Burns the national rising increased daily against the English. When the warfare was at its highest Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan arrived at Kabul so the result of national resistence a treaty was signed on 16th. Zilhij 1257 A.H. First of the Month of January 1842. A.D, in the text of which Sirdar Mohamed Zaman khan was styled as the Great Nawab Nawab Mohammed Zaman khan and the Representative was stled as Aminullah khan. All the other Sirdars penned their sign atures to the treaty and it was fully sealed and signed,

Shahshuja and Zaman Shah were in great conflict one against the other during the middle of Ramazan 1257. A.H. to the middle of

Safar 1258 A.H. that is from the beginning of November 1841. A.D.to 15th April 1842. A.D. when Shahshuja was assasinated at the hands of Shujaudaollah the son of Zaman Shah. All these tive and a half months fierce struggle ensued between the two forces. Aminullah of Logar who was considered as the Deputy of both of these kings did everythig possible to reconcile both of contestents because he would have been degraded at the hands of one of them and would have become only a Vazir.

In any case circumtances so converged to new situations that matters righted themselves on their own accord. Shahshuja in absence of his supporters so lost himself that he lost all his chances and was ultimately was asssassinated. On the appearance of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar khan the chance of the retürn of Amir Doust Mahamed khan a new turn. There is of course another story in relation to the son of Shashuja but that should be related at a seperate place. In any case when the matter of kingship of the son of Shahshuja was being contested between Aminullah khan and Zaman Shah at the highest of Maunjan Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan having mat a reverse at the hands of the English returned to Kabul the dispute was settled for some months Fateh Jung ruled and Zaman Shah left him alone for a time till the English inorder to ebenge themselves once again intered Afghanistan and burnt the roof of the Bazaer and then left entire country of Afghanistan and allowed Amir Doust Mohamed Khan to return and occupy the throne of Kabul.

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HABIBULLAH KHAN.

FIFTEENTH ARTICLE

(The son and the riches of sirdar Azeem Khan.)

After the death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan who was the governor of Kashmire two things remained from him. These related to the matters of the country. They have been of small duration: one was his abandaned spirit and the other was his son. The name of his son was Habibullah Khan; as a young man without any experience. and fond of society, and fond of good living. He wanted

that with his wealth he could manage the affairs of the state: but his wealth not only deprived him of his realm, but also contributed to his losing of his reason.

* * *

On the death of Mohamed Azeem Khan (1238, A.H. 1823.A.D.) the king of his choice one Ayub Khan was at Kabul. As we have related in other of our contributions, his kingship was in reality the kingship of his minister. After his death, his sun Habibullah Khan took the road that his father took, and took the power which father excersied over the king. But there was a considerable difference between the father and the son. Beyond money he had not inherited anything from his father; and also he was a man who believed in good living. Seeing these weekness in in his son, Sirdar Azeem Khan given the guardianship of his son to one named Nawab Jabar khan. The son, however, forgot his father's orders, and ratherthan act on advise of his father, he sent his guardian out as the governor of Ghazni, so that he could be away from the totalage of his guardian.

In the first instance there arose a struggle between Prince Ismail the son of Ayub Shah and Habibullah khan. The prince was that the powers of his father were really usurped; and that he struggled to regain the power of his father, whereas Habibullah khan was of the view that even those prerogatives which were only in name, they, too, could be curtailed: thus he approached his uncle of kandahar for is execution. At that time two points attracted the attention of the Barkzai Sirdar in kandahar; one was their desire to face Shah Mahmud at Herat, and the second was to uphold the kingly prestige at Kabul. At that time, too, Sirdar Shair Dil khan was engaged in a battle with Shah Mahmud Sirdar Purdil khan immediately came to kabul. After meeting Ayub Shah, he put him in prison at Bala Hisar. PrinceIsmail, the son of the deposed and imprisoned king was killed. In this way, therefore, the last figure of rule of the Saduzais was removed from. But for the second time Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan disagreed, and a fight ensued between him and Shair Dil Khan in the neghbourhood of Bala

Hisar and Shah Shaheed; but the intercession of Nawab Jabar khan and Nawab Mohammed Zaman khan the two were reconciled. The plane evolved by Shair Dil khan will be discussed in a different article.

Sirdar Habibullah Khan son of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, as we have said already, was not a man of any considerable personality; except that he had inherited a good deal of wealth from his father. Not only was money bequethed to Sirdar Habibullah Khan by his father but also, the Sirdarship and leadership of Kabul had also been imparted to him. But this was not really granted to him by the people who mattered. Sirdar Habibullah Khan, therefore, desired to have that leadership by spending money and through the influence of his friends But this wealth of his attracted the attentions of his uncles of Peshawar and of Kandahar. Their coming to Kabul however, deprived him not only of his wealth but also all semblence of any leadership of Kabul that he had sought.

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THE COMING OF SHIR DIL KHAN TO KABUL.

When Sirdar Shair Dil Khan arrived in Kabul Sirdar Yar Mohammed Khan and Sirdar Sultan Mohammed Khan the half-wit Sirdar Habibullah Khan against Sirdar Shair Dil Khan. His path was barred at Char Dahi; but Sirdar Shair Dil Khan skirted by way of Killah Fazil Baig, Afshar Nanuk Chi and Chal Tan and reached Kabul. Beating the resistence of his adverseries he moved to the region of the fur merchants, which lay towards the east of the bridge of Mahmud Khan, where he made his military headquarters Thence advancing by way of the Hisar arrived at Killa Housh Mund; and moving still to the south in a semi-circle surrounded the citedal of Bala Hisar; and at last by way of Darwazai Khoni near the Gateway of Jobba entered Bala Hisar. He took the enterior by force of arms; and took Habibullal Khan a prisoner.

THE SADUZAIS IN HERAT.

SIXTEENTH ARTICLE

(Shah Mahmud & Kamran in one Corner of Afghanistan.)

The assassination of Fo'heh Khan in 1234.A.H. at the hands of Shah Mahmud and Kamran, and in consequence the reaction of the Bakarkzai Brothers in order to avenge themselve is an incident, on-account of which the King and the prince of the Saduzois took th-eir stand in herat; and the rule of the Brakzais was established in all Afghanistan. There is no doubt that despite of it all, for the ne-xt 22 years, the rule of Shah Mahmud and his son, and of his re-latatives lasted. But in this article details are given about the rule of the princes of Saduzais; and these details will serve to show that despite the internecine war, and the limitation of the rule Saduzais, the opposition to them by those of his countrymen; the aggressions of the Kachars of Persia, the interference and political interests of the English with Russia in Central Asia; the city of He-at was alter all conquered without a long seige and resistence. It, too, remained in the hands of the Saduzais.

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After the assassination of Fatheh Khan in 1234.A.H. the opp-osition of the Saduzais and Barakzai was considerably increased. The King Shah Mahmud and prince Kamran fled from the opposition of Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan's forces at Chahar Asyab to Kandahar. As this city had fallen to Pur Dil Khan and his brother from Gul Mohamed Khan-one time governor of the place appointed by the Saduzais-Shah Mahmud and his son were compelled to travel by D-araward and bypaths in a great haste and with much difficulties and reached Farah. It is related that the king reached Herat only with eleven men and there he established his rule.

The princes of Saduzai, who had created a bad name for the-mselves in the country because of their savage act of assassinating Sirdar Fatheh Khan did not find Herat any too happy a place to

survive and to have their records of misdeeds condoned. The fact was that the lust of personal power and interest that this king and his son had, they did not pay the slightest attention to any and all protest that had been made in connection of their appalling activities.

Shah Mahmud considered that all his misfortunes had been inflicted upon him due to the activities of his son Kamran, wanted to have all power into his hands; but Kamran, who had tasted to luxuries of being an heir to the throne of his father had another idea: thus Shah Mahmud fearing that his son might imprison him, in the year 1235.A.H. left the city of Herat in fear of his life. In the years of 1820.A,D. and 1821.A.D, the son and the father had to measure swords in the neighbourhood of Herat. The king sought help from the people of Bad-Ghaiz, Ghurjistan and Emaq; and the prince sought assistence from the officers of the Kachars of Persia and Meshed. Till atlast the nobles terminated this ridiculous battle between father and son; and persuaded the king to retain the title and prestige of royalty: and that all administration was to be handed over to his son, Kamran. The position, thus was this that whereas the entire country of Afghanistan was in the hands of the Barakzai Brothers, and Sikhs were inroading from the eastern regions; and they were "wretling" against these Sikhs: the Saduzai princes found an opportunity to continue to rule in the north-west of the country. The trouble which was going on between the father and the son in Herat area amongst the Saduzais, was contemporary of the time when the Anglo-Russian imperial penetration and rivalry had reached its higt in degards to Central Asia. The Kachars took advantage of this weekness frequently attacked Herat.

The first fact which interfered with the position of Shah Mhamud and Kamran from Western Asyab was the factor of the attack of Firozuddin in the year 1822. A.D. Haji Firozuddin, who as the brother of Shah Mahmud for sixteen years had acted as an independent governor in Herat-from 1800. A.D. to 1816. A.D,-and after the collaps of Kandahar when Kandahar had been taken by Pur Dil Khan' had gone to Meshad, with the help and co-operation of Khali Khan Tayamni attack Herat; but his helper was killed and he himself was taken prisoner. In the year 1823. A.D. with the comni-

vance of Fateh Ali Khan Kachar attacks were launched against Herat. In fact these attacks were also moved down to Farah. The inhabitants of Farah, however, were now attcahd to the Sirdars of Kandahar, Sirdar Shair Dil Khan moved to Farah to repel the aggressors. At the time Shah Mahmud was indulging himself, whether through his own desire, or because he was compelled to remain idle, and was at Bagh Shah. Kamran had deputed affairs of the state to Husain Khan his uncle Mustafa Khan Zori; and placed his son to watch as to how these two discharged their dutics. He himself, (Kamran) gave his time to the reduction of the city of Farah. These two Sirdar, who had penetration amongst the people, had their own designs. From the very beginning they allied themselves and plotted against Kamran. The son of Kamran was set on a wrong path by these two intriguers, by inciting him to claim a kingship. Later on one of them released Haji Firozuddin, and set him on the throne; and the other approached Shah Mahmud and "released" him, Later on Mustafa Khan Zouri terminated 18 days reign of Haji Firozuddin and induced Kamran to return to Herat.

In the south, although Shair Dil Khan had beseiged the Killa Lash and Wajueen ; but further opportunity of an advance did not come to his hands ; thus Kamran was undecided whether to return to Herat or not. As Mustafa Khan had not acquired a complete mastery over things in Herat, the people were not very pleased with him ; thus Syed Mir Saddiq Khan it was who invited Kamran to Herat. In the darkness of night, the prince Kamran's return was manipulated. For a whole month, a struggle continued between Kamran and Mustafa Khan with in the precints of the town;and in the Killa Ikhtiaruddin. Till at last Mustafa Khan surrundered and Kamran for the second time took possession of the city of Herat (1828.A.D.) 1244, A. H. In the year 1829. A.D. (1245. A. H.) after the death of his father-Shah Mahmud-he proclaimed himself as king.

During nine of ten years (1810. A. D.-1829. A. D.) when Shah Mahmud as king and his son Kamran as the real administrator in Herat, when they were in opposite camps, and was harrassed by the attacks of the Kachars , did not find their places as the bed of roses. Shah Mahmud died under mysterious circumstances ; for accor-

ding to some, his son is supposed to have a hand in the death of Shah Mahmud.

In any case, after that date, Kamran wore the mantle of hi father as king. He appointed as his minister of the realm, one named Atta Mohamed Khan Alkozai, who slowly grabbed the administration strings into his hands. This Atta Mohamed Khan died in the year 1830. A.D. after whom his son Sirdar Din Mohamed Khan took the appointment; but his rivals prevented this, so that he (Din Mohamed Khan) gave the appointment to his cousin one named Yar Mohamed Khan Alkozai, the son of Abdullah Khan Alkozai was the goveronor of Kashmire during the time of Shah Mahmud's reign.

In the beginning the relationship between the Minister of The Realm and Kamran were not bad. In the year 1832. A. D. Fateh Ali Shah Kachar sent a military expedition to Herat under the command of his son one named Abbas Mirza at the head of thirty thousand soldiers. Abbas Mirza wanted to settle the issue withour fighting for it, therefore, he sent a messenger of his to Kamran. Wazir Yar Mohamed Khan was sent for that purpose to Meshad. But as the Afghan envoy did not accept the least point against the interests of his Afghan soveriegn, the matter was not solved. The Persian prince, against all rules of procedure imprisioned the Afghan envoy. The son of Abbas Mirza, one named Sal Bud beseiged Hèrat; but the Persians under Abbas Mirza were not strong enough to force an issue, and the Persians, therefore, retired to Meshad. (1833. A, D.) Yar Mohamed Khan returned to Herat. A year after this, of cuorse, Fateh Ali Shah also died. (1834. A. D.)

After this episode, Kamran and his minister of the State, Yar Mohamed Khan were able to have peace for three or four years, in order to consolidate their kingdom. During this time, too, the minister was able to add to his powers in regards to administration of the realm; till he was really all in all. So much so that he now had practically those very powers which Kamran had taken over from his father. In the year 1837. A. D. rumours arose regarding the possibility of an attack of the Persians during thè reign of Mohamed Shah Kachar against Herat. The prime mover

in this matter was the Czarist regime of Russia. It is a time, too, when the question of the possession of Herat had assumed an international aspect; so that the progress of imperialist designs of Russia and England, in Central Asia and India had arrived at a pass that it was feared that one day soon the two expansionist forces must collide some where in the neighbourhood of Centrl Asia. There is no doubt that the Saduzais of Herat, and Persian Kachars from Ghouristan to Herat had come into conflict with eachother in Afghanistan; but the expansionist policies of Russia and of England were rather more interested in the historical situation of Herat as a point of geography and politcal location. The Russians assisted the Kachars as against the Saduzais; and the English were in favour of these Saduzais; so the political helpers, and even military helpers of each these European dowers were assisting each group. Both the Russians and the English were ever in quest of approaching Amir Doust Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Kundil Khan, through sending their varous delegations, letters and envoys to win these two Sirdars to their respective sides. Great political manoeuvres, political rivalry was the scene in Central Asia of the period.

Inspite of the fact that the Killa of Ghuyans fell in to the hands of the Kachars; and the Persian soldiers reached upto the citidal walls under ther Russian officers; and Herat was besseiged for ten months, and that on account of lack of rations King Kamran did in effect opened negotiations for peace, yet Wazir Yar Mohamed Khan Alkozai and showed great resistence; and Pottinger, who was an English Agent, gave great hopes to Kamran in Herat. The result of it all was that Herat was not conquered by the Persians and that fatal hour was passed. Pressure was brought to bear upon Persia by the English at Bundar Abbas, so that the Persian king's forces has to retire from their ten months seige of Herat and returned to Tehran.

After replusing the foreign attacks, Kamran and his minister Yar Mohamed Khan converged their attention quite definitely toward the internal enemies of their own. The king, however, was now getting rather anxious about the growing power of his minister; and

wanted to remove him through whatever pretext that was possible. The minister on his turn, seeing his growing power wanted to do away with the king. In the year 1225. A. H. when Shahshuja was ruling at Kabul, Kamran entered Killa Ikhtia-uddin and launched an attack against his own powerful minister. The result was not favourable to the king, so that Kamran was placed under surveillance in the region of Kohistan. There he was assassinated by the order of minister in the year 1842. A. D. 1256. A. H.

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YAR MOHAMED KHAN ALKOZAI.

SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE

(The Minister, The Minister of The Realm of The Herat Kings.)

Yar Mohamed Khan, whose account is being given in this article was one of the great man and man at great power in Afghanistan. He held the position of a Minister of the Realm during the reign of King Kamran, he, on account of the power which he had gathered into his hands, he reached to the great position of a ruler at Herat, where his life ended. His territory extened beyond Herat to such areas as Bulk and Chakhansour. Yar Mohamed Khan seeing that the city of herot was attracting the interests of strangers, like the English, was opposed to the English and was inclined towards the Persians towards the end of his time. his Policy was to protect himself from external & internal intrusion; and it is to be accepted that he managed to do this.

In the year 1829. A. D. (1240. A. H.) when Shah Mahmud, the Saduzi king of Herat died under mysterious circumstances; and his son Kamran occopied the throne-who in fact had assumed the power of government during the life time of his father-installed one named Ata Mohamed Alkozi was his minister. A year after that, Ata Mohamed Alkozi died and King Kamran was compelled to appoint another man in his place. Accordinog to traditon of the time, the place of a minister of heriditory, thus Ata Mohamed Khan's place was to be taken by his son, named Sirdar Din Mohamed Khan. The courtiers. however, opposed that appointment; thus Din Mohamed Khan agreed to step down in favour of his cousin one nameed Yar Mohamed Khan Alkozai.

Yar Mohamed Khan who is famous for his appointment as a minister was the son of a governor of Kashmire, one named Abdullah Khan. He was a governor of Kashmire at the time of Shah Mahmud. Abdullah Khan's son-Yar Mohamed Khan-became more famous than his father in Afghan history. Ultimately he became a Minister of the State, and ended up with becoming a king of Herat. His name was known all through Central Asia. Yar Mohamed Khan was a minister from the year 1830. A, D. till 1842- A. D..that is to the end of the days of Kamran as a king. His term of office, was frougt with those uncertain end difficult times, when that area was rent asunder by inroads of the Kachars, the struggle of imperial expansion of the English and the Russians in centaral Asia regarding the strategical position of the city of Herat. There is little doubt that during such a period of difficulties of international magnitude, when the feeble king-like Kamran-was on the throne, the affairs of the state, as being upon the shoulders of a minister, were arduous and important. As the records of history manifest, from the moment, that this Sirdar of Alkozi took on the task of a minister, he was always solicitous that Herat shall be protected at all cost. Herat was, indeed, protected by him, as we had seen. When in the year 1833. A. D. the prince Abbas Mirza-the son of Fateh Ali Shah Kachar-launched an attack agaist Herat; and desired to settle the matter without fighting by talking to the representative of the Afghan king of Herat, it was Yar Mohamed Khan, who was sent as an envoy on behalf of the Afghan Saduzai king of Herat to Meshad ; he did not accept the least point of influence of the Kachars in Herat or any of the regions under the rule of his sovereign; so that the Persia prince, contrary to all procedure, imprisoned the Afghan envoy and placed him under very adverse conditions.

Quite naturally Kamran Shah made endeavours in getting the relcase of his minister; and either due to those endeavors ; or that Abbas Mirza died (1833. A. D.) Yar Mohamed Khan returned to Herat and was once again busy with his duties, and was able to take the reigns of government in his strong hands.

In the year 1837. A. D. when the rivalry of England and of Russia was all its highest over the question of Herat; and Mohamed Shah assisted by the Russian officers beseiged the city of Herat fer ten months, the Vazir-Yar Mohamed Shah.showed himself equal to the task when in making arrangements with the English thr-ough Potinger-who was living in disguise in Herat-and for in other ways for the defence of the city. Nor was it all, but he also used some of the money that the purpose of strengthening of his troops; and managed to repulse the aggressor Persians forces even from the very walls of the city of Herat.

After 1838. A, D. when the storm was blown over in regards to the Persian attack against Herat, the Englih had taken Kabul and Kandahar in the name of Shahshuja. Later they tried to occupy Herat and to place the local Saduzai gevernment of Herat under their influence. As we had mentioned, Pottinger, as the represe-ntative of the East India Company had paid a sum to Kamran and to his minister Yar Mohamed Khan in order to strengthen the Saduzai defence forces. After the lifting of the seige Captain Stoddard, too, joined Pottinger, so as to secure some "consideration" for the East India Company. Yar Mohamed Khan made use of the English money, but did not give the slightest point of "cons-ideration" to the English either in commercial or political sense. The English minster one named Macnuagton, thereupon, sent Major Todd to join the other two Englishmen at Herat, to persuade the local Saduzai administraion with the inducement of money and other promises to come under the English influence. A treaty of friendhsip was signed between the English and Kamran in 1839 A . D . between Stoddard and Kamran; but the Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan, who was the actual power, did not sign or the engagement entered into and did not give any consideration to the English. Yar Mohamed Khan being aware of the interest of both the Persians and the English in regards to the city of Herat tried to benefit from both sides for the good of the country; so that when the Persians attacked Herat, Yar Mohamed Khan took the help of the English to repel the agressor; and when the danger to Herat was over, and the English had taken practically every part of Afghanistan except Herat. Yar Mohamed paid no

attention to the soft words of the English ; and because of the friendly pressure of Mohamed Shah Kachar, he commanded that Major Tode should leave Herat. His growing power was now in progress, till in the year 1842. A. D. he managed to remove even the Kamran from his royal position.

There is little doubt that after that date, he did not proclaim himself as a king, but called himself only a Minister of the Realm. This title was considered of greater magnitude that the kingships of either Shah Mahmud or Kamran . He (Yar Mohamed Khan) now started on a carrer to extend the extent of his territory. Yar Mohamed Khan paid attention to this extension of his administrative province in two directions ; namely in the south and the East-in Ghour and in the regions of Murghab. He reduce Karim Dad Khan , the head of the Hazras, of Killa Noor, to submission. In the year 1842. A. D. (1257. A.H.) which is the time of a great anti-English movement at Kabul, he took an expedition to Ghour , At the time in Ghour two persons had influence , one was Mustafa Khan and the other was named Ibrahim Khan. Two sons of Kamran named Saiful Muluk and Saadat Muluk took refuge with Ibrahim Khan ; also Sirdar Din Mohamed Khan-who as may be remembered had waived his claim over the Minister of the Realm office-had now become an enemy of him under the protection of one Mustafa Khan. In addition to this Rawlinson, the political representative of the English in Kandahar had also taken steps to remove Yar Mohamed Khan from Herat, and his activities were projected at Ghour. The Minister of the Realm took advantage of the animosity of these two nobles of Ghour and rendered them week by precipitating a conflict bet ween them ; so that the was able to project his influence in Ghour upto Karz and Nazli. This done he returned to Herat. In 1846. A. D. when Mohamed Shah dismissed Saifud Dowlah from the governorship of Meshad ; the king of Herat found the opportunity to extend his influence up to Tubat Jam. During that year and the year after that 1847. A. D. he was further able to extend his say to the region of Mughab. Shibarghan, Aqhcha, to Sarpul and upto the neighbourhood of Bulkh. He wrote a letter to the ruler of Merve, asking him to surrender himself under the rule of Yar Mohamed Khan.

At the time when the prestige of Yar Mohamed Khan as the ruler of Herat had reached its highest point, at Kabul the reign of Amir Doust Mohamed Khan obtained, and Kandahar was in the hands of Sirdar Kuhandil Khan. Political relations between Kabul and Herat were cordial and on account of the family connection of two royal house they became even more friendly; for Yar Mohamed Khan had given his daughter in merriage to Vazir Mahamed Akbar Khan; and on the death of Vazir Mohamed Akbar Khan, the second son of the Amir married the widow of his brother. But on the contrary there was a great tension between Sirdar Kunhandil Khan and the ruler of Herat. This animosity it was that compelled each of these contestent to ask the help of the Persians; and each of them wrote in his individual manner to Mohamed Shah, the Kachar king. The Persians were, however, rather afraid of the growing strength of Yar Mohamed Khan, therefore, they wanted to assist Kuhindil Khan; but his death destroyed this plan. Apart from this when Naziruddin Kachar came upon the throne of Persia, dangerous situation arose for the Tehran government in Meshad; this was in the shape of the revolt of Saifuddoullah, the deposed governor of that city. Humza Mirza was appointed to punish the revel. The Vazir-Yar Mohamed Khan-saw a chance for further strengthening himself at the expense of this Persian Fracas, for he noticed that this would weeken the Persian urge against Herat; and thus he was not quite sure as to what to do for the best, because he was still friendly towards the Persian kings; and wanted to help Humza Mirza. Both of these rivals were now the subject of attention of Yar Mohamed Khan. He wrote to both of them. He started with 8,000 fighting men towards Meshad. In "appearance" he showed favour more to Humza Mirza, and for that reason Nazir Uddin send him as gift a sword studdied with jewels, and bestowed on him the title of Zahiruddoullah.

In as much as Amir Doust Mohamed Khan was desirous that he should bring the whole country under one banner. and thus produce a unity by taking Kandahar and Herat; both Kuhin Dil Khan and Yar Mohamed Khan opposed the Amir. In the year 1267. A.H. a struggle was imminent; Yar Mohamed wrote to Kuhim Dil Khan that in place of both of them being at lagger head with each other.

they should really combine in their efforts. This is a time, too, when Ahmed Khan the head of the Ishaq Zais, induce Kuhin Dil Khan to take the region of Lash, then Shair Dil Khan son of Mihr Dil Khan started from Kandahar to that direction; just in time Kuhin Dil Khan's son Sirdar Mohamed Saddiq Khan occupied the region of Chughansour. Yar Mohamed Khan was rather frightened about this, therefore, he, tooo, tok notice of the region of Lash and removed Ahmed Khan form that locality; and send Sirdar Mohamed Saddiq Khan back to Kandahar with due honour and with much favour; making his son Sirdar Said Mohamed Khan as the governor of Lash. He himself returned to Herat. In the way to Herat, he fell ill suffering with fever and died in 1267. A. H. He was burried near the grave of Jami.

During his rule in Herat Yar Mohamed Khan-twelve years with his might reduced all the lesser nobles to subjugation. He gave peace to practically all the territories under his jurisdiction. He also paid a great deal of attention to agriculture and even to the mines of his territory. He repaired all those buildings which had suffered during fighting in and around Herat. Those who had died as a result of the war with the foreigners were remembered by him, for their dependents received grants of lands in such regions as Killa Noa and in areas around. As compared to the Saduzai princes, he ruled a larger territory and most certainly much more effeciently.

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TOWARDS THE FRONTIER DELINEATION.

EIGHTEENTH ARTICLE

Thd English atlast on their road of imperialist expansion reached upto the banks of the Indus in the middle of the 19th. century of Christian Era, But from the time that they arrived at that locality, they were subjected to great difficulty, for there they were confronted with the problem of delineating the frontiers. The difficulty was that during a whole century their political thinkers and their military officers through various writings and in virtue of multiferous documents which they had sighned, they had committed themselves to quite a number of baffling situations. They knew that the problems of the frontiers between them and the

Afghans had not been solved. As a result, the reaction had been the question of Pushtunistan came into bejng; so that till that regian af the Pushtuns is not made indpendent, there could not be a Permanent peace in that phart af Asia.

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As a result of the records of history which had been revealed; and some of which have also been appearing in the publications both in our own and those of the English. When the English occupied the Indus Valley in the year 1843. A. D. and placed the Punjab unddr their rule, had aways in the quest of making a boundry line their territory and those of the western neighbours.

In other words, the imperialist designs of the English during their progress for halF a century had enabled them to overpower the fertile regions of India from the Ganges to the basin of the Indus river. When that was accomplished they were solicitous to find a lind of demarkation of a permanet value; so that the tasty morsal of India should be eaten away from the interference of rivals; so that nó one should meddle in their rule of the fetile plains and extensive regions of which then they were the masters. It was this that impelled the military and political officers of rhe Britsh empire to arrive at a decision in regards to a line of frontier.

As thc readers are aware that the discovery and the evolution of a linc of demarkation was a problem of great intricacy: the cnnsiderations which promted the several steps of the British in this regard had perforce due to the ever changing conditons of time and circumstances, had to be altered and changed frequently.

The principles that guided the British in relation to this making of a fronier line of strength and permanancy, were two fangled. One school was the school of Forward Policy and the other was the Limited Frontier of Close Frontier Policy. Those British officers who had served in Sindh were favourable to a

frontier of artificial character, their real intention being that discord might be produced in Afghanistan, and thus gradually to annex Quetta, Kandhâr, Kabul and Herat into their Indian possessions. This was the secret intention of those who belonged to the Forward Policy School. The other later known as the Sindh School was composed of those British officers, who had served in the Punjab, and they were syled by their kind as the Defenders of the Road. They were wedded to the Close Border Policy. Their views were that the frontier should be considered as being on the line drawn at the river Abasin or the lene along the mountains; and not a single step may be taken westward beyond that line. This School was sometimes called the Punjan School as well.

When the English, therefore, advanced from the Ganges basin to the banks of the Indus river; and half of north India came entirely under their imprial rule; the necessity was purgent to produce a boundry line from among the plans of the two schools. One of the three solutions were to be projected.

The line should run along the river Abasin. Secondly that the line should run along the mountains of Sulaiman Koh and Kaiasr Chur. The third proposal that the line should be the heart of Afghanistan, that to say the Hindu Kush Range.

Prior to our studying these three proposals; let us consider as to what regions the En glish penetration had arrived.

The English proded Ranjit Singh to war against the Afghans, so that the Sikh ruler might weeken the power of the Barakzais and the Saduzais. By this manipulation, it was thought to serve the best interests of the English. The Maharaja was allowed the rule, but as soon as the Sikh died, the English hand immediately grabbed his territoty, so that seven years after Ranjit's death the province of Sindh was taken, and within ten the entire Punjab annexed into the British territory. The annexation of the Punjab was completed in the year 1849. A. D. and then they cosidered that their frontier boundry line westward ran along the right bank of the river Indus and along the western ranges of the mountains of the tribes. This boundry line, which the English considered as their inheritance from

the Sikhs, and the discussion of that subject requires closer study. This line, however, was the one which passed between the river Indus and the mountains of the tribes on the fringes of the plains-agricultural plains-and the foothills and rocky defiles of the west. In other words, it was a boundry line which divided the agricultural plains from the rocky mountains of the clansmen of Pushtunistan: and the mountain dwellers of the tribes were beyond that line.

In spite of the fact that the English territory could be defined as lying beyond that line; that is, on the east and the south-east of the course of the Indus river; and beyond that lay on the north and north-west the independent country of Afghanistan and the independent tribesmen; yet the English sought to establish a firm and permanent frontier line beyond which they may rest secure in their Indian posses-ions.

As every one knows, and history, geography, literature, legends and traditions bear witness; the natural and pilitical and historical boundry of India is no other than the course of the river Indus which arising in the far north at Gilgit and courses straight down to south till it debauches itself in the Indian ocean. This, line, too, seperates Afghanistan from India; and it is a divi ling line, which nature has quite obviously created for that purpose. Historical precedences in this regard are always recorded; and every body knows of this fact. The knowledge of this fact, too, persuades some better informed Englishmen to sonsider that when they had reached the banks of the Indus, then they have touched their natural boundry line in the west.

Amongst the English officers, the man who accepted the river Abasin as the boundry of their territory was Lord Lawrence, who had a great deal of administrative experience of the Punjab administration. His cry was always "back to the Indus". His views were that Kohat and the protruding areas of the tribes would go beyond the Peshawar area by any other boundry line than the one drawn along the Indus river. Also, that the stationing of British troops in the Peshawar area was not conducive of a healthy life for British troops. For this reason Lord Lawrence considered that the river Indus was the best boundry line.

He further added that the river Indus was a deep and definite artery of water, most suitable for a boundry line; in place of an indefinite thin line along the foothills. Also that the Indus river constituted a shorter boundry line, and in the expense in its defence would be much less than for any other land boundry. Under these circumstances, Lord Lawrence advised the Government of India to give back the territories of Kohat and Peshawar to Afghanistan.

There is no doubt that some of the English men did not see eye te eye with Lawrence's suggestions; so that his suggestions were made nul and void. Lawrence, howeve, stuck to his views. As his views were not accepted by Lord Canning, he (Lawrence) slightly modified his views; and he added that if the river Abasin could not be taken as the natural boundry line in regards to geography and history of India; we should atleast not put a single foot forward beyond those foothills formed the boundry line of the Sikhs; because beyond that area lie high mountains, deep valleys and many turning and twisting passes; which would be difficult to defend, whereas a line along the foothills would be more secure and the mountains in front of the line would be a source of defence and strength.

This line which running along the course of the river Indus, and touching the foothills of the Sulaiman range and Kaiser Ghor, was the same boundry line which marked the line, where Ranjit Singh with English incitement had extended his territory during the internecine wars of the Barakzai Brothers and the Saduzais. The tribal territory, however, was entirly beyond it. This boudry line was adopted by the English from the Sikhs in the year 1849. A. D. It was, too, the line, which according to Lord Lawrence should be a definite line beyond the English should not proceed westwards. But as the historical records show, most regretfully due to the military minded officers of the English, bent on imperial expension, did not accept the wise advice of their better minds and impelled by the theme Forward Policy proceded forward into the tribal regions of mountais; and from 1879. A. D. entered into a policy of aggrersion. Their hidden desire, of course, was the boundry line should terminate at Kabul. Ghazni

and even at Heart; but they were unable to execute this nefarious plan, and the boundry line between Afghanistan and In dia remained indefinte.

NINTIN ARTICLE

THE ENGLISH INTEREST IT HERAT MATTERS.

The English after their first interference with matters Afghan, and even after that during the disturbances in the regions of the south of the Hindu Kush; were always at pains to bring Herat and the local Saduzai rule there under their sway. In the years 1837, 1838, and 1839. A. D. their agent, such as Pottinger, Staddard and Todd in disguise reached Herat. They spent a greot deal of money for strengthening of the army there, and in planning tactics in order gain an upper hand in the administration of the city of Herat. None of these manouvres succeeded, and the least amount of preference was not accorded to them by the wise minister of Kamran, one named Yar Mohamed Khan Alkozai. The Vazir did in effect repel the machinations of Russia and those of the Persians through the help of the English, yet with his establisihng offriendly relations with the Persians, he annulled the expansionist policies of England as well.

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Progressively as the East India company marched on the norther regions of India from the Bay of Bengal; its officers saw themselves as the inheritors of the land; and the fertile territories of India to lie at their feet. Along with the expansion of the English power in India and the acquiring of territory; there was at back of their minds, of course, a thought of. the newly annexed areas. The penetraion of the English forces in Indla leuring the rule of Zaman Shah, and later after the territories of Ranjit Singh fell into their lot; mattrs so contrved that their implications were seen during such perlods of our history as at the time of the rule of Shah Mahmud, Shahshuja, again during the rule of Shahshuja, then during the time of Amir Doust Mohamed Khan, and Shuja, and

once again when Doust Mohmed Khan and Shuja and once again when Doust Mohamed Khan was on the throne. So that they reached Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Shikar Pour; and that due to the internecine wars in Afghanistan, the introduction of foreign forces was made clear to the extent of their being in possesion of three most important cities of Afghanistan, namely Kabul, Kandahar; and eyes were being cast towards Herat.

Contemporary to the English activities in India; or indeed, a little earlier than that period; the imperialist designs of the Czarist Russia were making themselves felt amogst the Khanates of Central Asia; so that the Russian imperialist thrust was proceeding southwards towards the banks of the Oxus.

There is, of course, little doubt that the English, when they were still not further west than the Punjab; and as early as the reign of Zaman Shah in Afghanistan; were rather apprehensive about the designs of Napoleon and Czars of Russia; and that when they managed to contain the Afghan progress behind the mountains of Afghanistan; and they themselves became the undispured monarchs of India; the fear gripped them for they had then to protect a much larger part of their possessions. The aggression of the English in Afghanistan was due to the fear in the hearts of their imperiallistically inclined officers regarding the western defence of their territories.

In any case when after 1836. A. D. Afghanistan was divided into several local principalities; the Russians of the Czarist regime and the Persians under Kachars joineds hand in order to inroad into the Afghan territory with a view to possessing the city of Herat. The political heads of the East India Company in Bengal seeing the danger of the Russio-Persian alliance against Herat, were bent upon doing everything possible to see that the Russio-Persian designs were defeated. But that which had made the English more anxious than ever was the condition of internal affairs in Afghanistan itself In Kabul, Kandahar and Herat local governments had been set up; and the enimosity of Barakzai brothers and the Saduzais had contributed to the creation of a separate kingdom by Kamran at Herat.

Both the English and the Russians had sent their envoys to Kabul; and in the winter of 1837. A. D. Burns came as an envoy of the English to the court of Amir Doust Mohamed Khan, and the Russian determined not to be left behind sent their envoy in the person of one named Vakuvich.

The danger point, according to the English was just that city of Herat. Mr. Macneil, the English envoy in Tehran wrote a letter to the English governor-general in Calcutta in 1836.A.D. regarding the Russio-Persian designs regarding Herat. From that date onwards the statesmen of English were giving a great deal of attention to the consideration of the Herat Question; and since that period it is that we are introduced to such a person Major Edward Pottinger.

Major Pottinger, who belonged to the Artillery secton of Bombay reached Afghanistan in 1836. A.D. or in the beginning of 1837, and after a protected stay in Kabul at the house of Nawab Jabbar Khan, journyed towards Herat by way of Hazarajat; where he reached in the summer of 1837. A.D. and contacted Kamran and his powerful minister, Yar-Mohamed Khan.

There is little doubt that the local king of Herat, Kamran, noting the difficulties that faced him was in need of help. There were no less than thirty to forty thousand troops of Mohamed Shah Kachar with some Rusian volunteers, and led by Russian, Italian and even French officers. Pottinger, as the representative of the East India company, who were always solicitous of the defence problem of India; was ready to render any help that was to be asked from the English. Under the instructions of the English officer, the Saduzai ruler attended to the defence walls of Herat and adjusted military matters under his advice; till ultimately the troops of Mohamed Shah Kachar of Persia led by the Russian officers beseiged Herat on 23rd. November of 1838. A.D. This seige lasted for ten months; that is to say beginning from the winter of 1837 to the spring and summer of 1838. A. D. Kamran was almost ready to acceed to certain points of the enemy, but his minister resited any such appeasement, and Major Pottinger gave all kinds of advice towards till the most determind attack led by the Russian general Bur-

oviski on 24th. June 1838. A. D. was repulsed; and ultimately the Persians beat a retreat actually from the proximity of the city walls in 8th. September 1838. and retired to Tehran,

There is no doubt that the real purpose of Pottengir and of his higher officers was to to strengthen the forces of the Saduais; and to restrict the plans of the Russio-Persian aggression towards Herat and in other perts of Afghanistan. When, however, the probl em of aggression from the west on the part of the Russians and the Persians had solved itself; Lord Ackland lifted the curtain from his real designs, designs, which were to interpcre in Afghanistan's local and domestic affairs; and English troops, in the name of Shahshuja entered the kingdom of Afghanistan. The English had it in view that in addition to placing Kabul and Kandahar under their to put the local Saduzai king of Herat under the suz. erainty of Shahshuja. But here they excercised some care and did not actively interfers with Kamran's affairs, for they were afraid of a man like Yar Mohamed Khan, who was regarded as the Nepoleon of Central Asia. and the Greatest Warrior in Central Asia. Still, in order to test the situation they made certain proposals, and two other English officers: namely Stoddard and Major Todd were sent out to Herat for purpose.

After the termination of the seige of Herat, Pottinger used to help Kamran financially; and Colonel Stoddard was sent out to Herat further to increase the influence of the English in that locality: the king was persuaded to their view to an extent, but the man who could pierce the outer curtains of diplomacy was the self same Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan, who was aware of the inner meanings of it all. Nor would he be persuaded by money. Stoddard, however, due to the obstraction of the Vazir did not succeed in his mission and started towards Bokhara. There he was taken prisoner. Pottinger remained alone in Heat. This English officer wanted to have a unit under his command at Herat, and the expenses of that force would be paid by the East India Company. But Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan did not agree to it. The Vazir as far as was possible took the English gold to protect his country from the aggression of the Persians; but after the lifting of the seige of

Herat, the Vazir did not countanence the views of the English; and indeed, things passed to the stage, when Yar Mohammed Khan actually showed himself friendly again towards the Persians.

The attitude of the minister of Kamran towards the English, compelled the English to send another envoy to Herat; so that Mr. Todd who was at one time the English military Attacheat Tehran and an assistent in the military section of the administraion of Magnauton in Kabul was sent to Herat in 1839. A. D. Major Todds promises for larger sums were just proportion to that which they wanted in "preference" for the English interests. But Yar Mohamad Khan, who had discovered their week point, intensified his friendship with the Persians all the more; and further money from the English. At last Todd was asked to leave Herat . Major Todd with all his experience in political wanggling and military skill was declared as unsuccessful in all his plans. Due to his failure he was placed in the disfavour of the Governor-General, and he was degraded in his rank and positon. Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan was successful in all his plans and was able to protect his country from the achemes of the foreigners. It is to be noted that whilst practically the whole of Afghanistan of the time had come under the influence of the English ; the sagacious Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan kept Herat atleast outside the orbit of the English penetration and influence.

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THE STRUGGLE OF TWO SIRDAR IN CAPTURING OF KABUL.

TWENTIETH ARTICLE

The collaps of the Saduzai government . and the coming up of the Barakzai Brothers rule over Afghanistan were managed by stages, and gradually. The term of office of Sirdar Feteh Khan, and the rule of Shah Mahmud is a period in Afghan history in which both houses of these nobles had co-operatee and worked tobether for their country. But the assassination of Sirdar Fateh Khan destro yed that spirit of co-operation ; so that all the Barakzai Brothers now sought to avenge the wrong. these activities of the Barakzais,

in time took the shape of installing of their own principalities in three points in Alghanistan : in Peshawar, in Kandahar and in Kabul. In all these three loaqlities, however, Kabul was the most important. For the capturing of that premier locality first of all Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed khan made their individual efforts . Sirdar Doust Mohamed khan , however , managed to secure that coveted honour and established a Barak zai reigning dynasty.

In the thirteenth article of this review under the title of "TWO KINGS IN ONE PALACE," we had said some thing about the suject ; and the readers must have noted as to how Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan had journey one after another to Kabul to avenge the death of their brother Fateh Khan. The two Sirdars , faced each other in a ditferent manner . Each of these had installed a prince of their own choice for kingship. Each of these princes was the son of Timour Shah, the previous king of Afghanistan : the one selected by Doust Mohamed Khan was one named Ayub and the other Sultan Ali was selected by Sirdar Mohamed Azme Khan. Each of these Sirdars had elected himself as the minister of the realm of their protige . The real fact is after the defeat of Kamran and Shah Mahmud near the villagee of Hindiki and their flight towards Herat ; and the good impression that had obtained in regards to the descendents of Payanda Khan and his relatives ; the two above mentioned Sirdars were regarded as the most competent future rulers of Afghanistan.

There is little douht, of course , that amongst all the Barak-Zai Brothers, Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan was the most experienced, the eldest and the man of considerable influence ; and practically every one acknowledged his excellent qualities. But as Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, though younger, was in a more advantageous position- because he had been more under the training of his father; and he was a man of qualities of his own as a person who could time things, could manoeuvar mattars to his will and a statesman no mans small calilre. After Fateh Khan he would not acknowle-

dge any body's acendence upon himself. During their short stay at Kabul , these two Sirdar busied themselves in ripening their respective scemes; and even sought each other's life blood. Nawab Samad Khan , however , tried to recile them ; till Shahshuja rose as another claiment in Sindh at Shikarpour; which assisted in diverting their attention to him. All the Barakzai Brotheres, whether at Kubl or at Kandahar now banded themselvve to oppose him.

But such an alliance was short lived, for again at Kandahar, at Shikar Pour and Gazni the animosity of these Sirdars-as above mentione-made its appearance. In Kabul both influence and money backed Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, therefore, the capital difficult place to work in; Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan tried t raise the people against Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan at such various locations as Kohistan, Gazni; and evden endeavours were made to raise the standard of revolt at Kabul. These smaller revolts, were really a kind of a ruse inorder that Doust Mohamed Khan should get money from his brother, Mohamed Azeem Khan, and thu indirectly to add to his personal interets.

There is no doubt that due to this internecine warfare, the Sikhs found themselves in a position to take advantage of the situation in Afghanisan; so that they brought under their rule such areas as Dera Jat and Peshawar whilst the Afghan brothers contested in Kabul. At last Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan forgetting the affairs of contest against his brothers launched out to oppose the Sikhs in Peshawar; and died at Lata Bund by dysentry at the age of 38 years: and was burried at the shrine of Mazar Ashiqan and Arfan.

At the time of the death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, the government of Kabul was in the hands of Ayub Shah; but the real work of the administration was taken over by Habibullah Khan, the son of Sirdar Azeem Khan, who had inherited the wealth of his father. It is at ime, too, when Sirdar Pur Dil Khan and Shair Dil Khan of Kandahar took the road to Kabul. Although at a later stage thes two Sirdars clashed with Doust Mohamed Khan; yet in the first instance as the result of a consolidated attack , the puppet king-Ayub Shah-was removed and Habibullah Khan was flung into the dungeon. Various schemes were set on foot amongst

the Barakzai Brotheas regarding the apportioning of Afghanistan. A group of them took over the regions of Peshawar and Kandahar; and Doust Mohamed Khan was given Kohistan to administer. It is, also the time, when Sirdar Shair Dil Khan taking the largest share of the late Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan's fortune from his son Habibullah Khan, left for Kandahar. Ataullah Khan, the governor of Peshawar taken ill, and sirdar Yar Mohamed Khan died; and Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan was made the governor of Kabul on his behalf. The last tussel between Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan, the first being the governor of Kohistan and the last named the Governor of Kabul, began in the year 1243. A. H. (1827. A. D.) Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan was surrounded at Bala Hisar. A pact was signed by which Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan was to receive one lakhs of rupees annually from the Kabul revenue: and Sultan Mohamed Khan left the citadel from one gate, and Sirdar Doust Mohamed entered it by another. Doust Mohamed Khan, in addition, took over the rulership of Kabul for himself.

If we were to study closely the conditions of the time and the activities of the Barakzai Brothers in Kandahar and Peshawar, we would note that fate also played a favourable part for Doust Mohamed Khan; in this way that when Sirdar Shair Dil Khan took Kabul, he sent his uncle one named Khudai Nazar Khan with Ghayas Khan Alkozi, that they should get all that money which the documents revealed that Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan had upon the people. These two messengers used cruel methods to methods to exhort the money so that the people of Kabul having been distracted, approached Sirdar Shair Dil Khan, who in place of roviding a re-dress upbraided them; and this occasioned a conflict between the Kabulis and the Sirdar. Accordig to his plans, ther efore, Sirar Shair Dil Khan, appointed Doust Mohamed Khan as the governo of Kohistan; placed Sirdar Yar Mohamed Khan at the head of the affairs at Kabul and he himself left for Kandahar.

When Sirdar Dil Khan left for Kandhar, the people of Kabul felt very relieved; and as they had been annoyed wih him, his representaives also ahared in that unpopularity; Sirdar Dust Mohamed

Khan taking advantage of the situation. of course, added fuel to the fire and incited the enraged people; thus trying to win them over to his side. Time marched, till, in the beginning of the yrar 1239. A. H. Sirdar Yar Mhan due to illness and persuation of his brother Sidar Ata Mohamed Khan left for Peshawar and placed Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan in charge of .Kbaul

Sirrdar Doust Mohsmed Khan, who wattched the opportunity at Kohisistan in the north of Kabul; seeing the unpopularity of the governor at Kabul, and the help that he could receive from the Kohistanis Kabul and went straight to Bala Hisar and took that historical citedal. SdarSuiltan Mohtmed Khan went to Peshawar and Doust Mohamed Khan became the Amir of Kabul.

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THE MEETING OF AND CLASH OF AYUB SHAH AGAINST PURDIL KHAN AT BALA HISAR

TWENTY FIRST ARTICLE

Amongst those many dramatic incidents which had taken place at Bala Hisar, is the meeting of Ayub Shah, the son of Timour Shah; and Sirdar Purdil Khan, the son of Sirdar Paynnda Khan. The first section was his son Prince Ismail; and the other Sirdar Mihr Ali Khan. The king and the prince were compelled to meet the Barak zai Sirdars of Kandahar but cantrary to the conditions as laid down which stipulated that Sirsdar Pur dil Khan come alone; he brought his brother and other of his companions, too, into the citedal. The puurpose of the meeting ostensibly was about the power over the throne and government and the wealth appertaining to it, and antagonism had attained his highest point, matters went to far as to firing and use of fire arms; and this use of fire arms caused causualities. It such surcharged condions, quite naturally, whosoever, took the first aggressive steep, won; ; this the reader would see after reading this article.

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It in the Thirteenth article, under the title TWO KINGS IN ONE PALACE we had given details, as to how two kings, one put up by Sirear Mohamed Azeem Khan - one nemed Ayub Shah - and the other placd at the head of the government as a pupper king by Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan - Sultan Ali Shah, lived not only in one realm, in one city but shared the same palace.

There can be little doubt that this anomolous position was created through the personal interests of two men namely Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan ; for each of these had placed two little known princes upon the throne, only to rule in their name themselves, These schemes were projected for gaining personal power and personal satisfaction of the two above mentioned ; and inwardly they, of course, were thirsty for each others blood. The two Sirdars worked at their respective designs, and each "king" in his turn did everything in his path. Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, howevere, began to work this plan ; and although he tried hard to persuade his protege to the act , Sultan Ali Shah did not take his mentor's advice and commit an actual act of assassination against his rival Ayub Shah. In point of fact, he actually took offence at the suggestion of his Vazir-Doust Mohamed Khan-on that score. As opposed to this, the schemes of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, worked as he desired, for he so made it known that, if Ayub Shah manage to do away wish his rival "king", Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, too, on his part do all that he could do, to make short work of his rival brother , Doust Mohamed Khan . It so happened , therefore, that prince Ismail, the son of Ayub Shah managed to kill the rival "king" of his father. But having done that foul deed, Ayub Shah now held Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan upto his bargain, and asked him to kill his brother Doust Mohamed Khan ; but the later refused to do so. Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan , however , did not desist from opposing Doust Mohamed Khan in a fair fight , as it were. A series of struggles, therefore, rose between Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan at such diverse places as Ghazni, Astalif, Shikar Pour and at Peshawar. These struggles took on such proportions that the Barakzai Brothers now thought of apportioning the kingdom among themselves. The foreigners, especially the Sikhs , made a great harvest out of this discord of the

realm ; so that Ranjit Singh took the beautiful Valley of Kashmire with slight difficulty from Jabbar Khan. After Jabbar Khan, the first governor of Kashmire was one named Moti Ram . The Sikh Maharaja took so much courage out of the discord that he even prepetuated aggression on the territories right of the viver Indus ; and wretled Dera Ghazi Khan from of the hands of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan. The unfortunate fact was that at this time the Sirdars were in confliet amongst themselves in various parts of the country. Till gradually the Sikhs continued to proceed on their aggression and reached so far west as the neighbourhood of Attock and indeed to the lower reaches of the river Kabul. Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan. who due to the anxiety of his money that he had near Killa Majina, when faced with the Sikhs accepted defeat ; and ultimately died on his way to Kabul . All his fortune was bequethed to his son Habibullah Khan.

When the days of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan were coming to a close, he revealed the sources of all his fortune , and took a promise from his son, Habibullah Khan , that after his death , he (his son) will spend all that money in a war of revenge against the the Sikhs. He was, ofcourse, aware that his son was not competent to rule, Sirdar Mohamed Azoem Khan placed his son under the the tutalage of his unble Nawab Khan.

A time when Ayub Shah , and Sirdar Habibullah Khan-one a king and another the son of a Sirdar-came face to face at Kabul. Each considered himself the inerit0r of his father. The "king" was, as we know that puppet, who was set up on the throne by the father of Habibullah Khan. On the death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan a curious situation obtained at Kabul. All the Barakzai Brothers, whether in Pashawar or at Kandahar anxiously watched the turn of events. All of them, quite naturally, were intessely, interested in all future derelopments ; because power and riches-of Ayub Shah and of Habibullah Khan-had now centered at one and the same citedal ; but the ultimate future was completely unknown as to who will secure what.

It is rlated that as soon as the news of the death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan reeched Kandahar; Sirdar Pur Dil Khan immediately resolved to set out for Kablul. He took his brother Mihr Dil Khan with him. Ayub Shah was still unceartain of his son Prince Ismail whose hands were stained with the blood of the rival of his father, overcome by his greed, persuaded his father Ayub Shah to kill Habiullah Khanl and to seeure the vast riches of the son of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan. Ayub Khan, however, did not agree to the scheme. Meantime Pur Dil Khan appeared in the arena and atonce desired that the king should see him at Bala Hisar. Ayub Shah agreed to grant the intervew. but made the conditon that he should come alone; and during the audience there should be no one else withh hi.m The gateway of Bala Hisar was opened, and a number of the companions of Pur Dill Khan'most of them being Kohstanis entered along with Sirdr Pur Dil Khan in the citedal, and attacked the district of the Arabs. In front of the gateway, which lead to the king's own palace the same scene was hnacted; so that in place of Pur Dil Khan alone shoule have entered, Michr Dil Khan and a number of sundry followers also entered the Royal precints; ans actually arrived at the place where Ayub Shah and his son prince Ismail were awaiting their solitary guest. Ordinary conversation soon led to heated scenes, and certin indieations of bad temper on the part of the Sirdars, made the king and his son rather doubtful of their designs. As they were fully prepred for any trouble, they levelled the barrels of their guns against the chests of the sirdars: but the followers soon dvierted the guns away from the dirction of the Sirdars; so that the Audience Hall was transfered to a scene of massacre; and as the result of the use of firing, the king and the prince and one other person was killed and another was killed and another was wounded. The whole situation was disturbed. Then they fell upon the king; in the melee the prince Ismail was killed and the king was flung into dungen; of the Bala Hisar citedal. As a result of this tragedy, one of the most dreadful acts aginst the last smallest Saduzi was ended. The king was subjected to all sort of cruelitirs till he had to pay one lakh of rupees to Sirdat Pur Dil Khan; and a man by the name of

Haji Ali disguised the king and led him out of the prison and took him to the Killa of Vazir; after which Nawab Zaman Khan managed to get him smuggled to the Punjab.

There is no doubt that the terminatin of the Saduzai dynasty repared the way for a Barakzai Brothers rule; and a chance cane when the Barakzais were abletosecure the throne of the country. Althoucgh this transference of sovereignty could have taken place earlier; but Pur Dil Khan rather than act in the general interest of his kinsmen, and availing himself of the opportunny of placing his family upon the trone; merely contended himself getting his share from the vast share of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, and let go the rest of the matter to work out as best as it could. Pur Dil Khan appointed Sirdar Habibullah Khan as the ruler of Kabul in place of Ayub Shah; so that in place of establishng a solid basis for rulership, gave rise to a fuedal controversy; so that during those fateful years of second quarter of the 19th. Century, when the country needed strength through unit, our Sirdars were more interested in struggle for power and money at Bala Hisar than the more immediate needs of the country.

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THE PLAN & THE PURPOSE OF SHAIR DIL KHAN.

ARTICLE TIENITY SECOND

After the collaps of the Saduzais, till the rulership of the Mohamedzais; all the Barakzai Sirdars endeavoured to garnish their own interests and purpose. Their numbers and influence gradually produced important places for them at the court. But as the hand of the brother was raised against his brother, and had disintegrated man from man; even at the hight of power, their internecine conflicts rendered their power as a negative force, which produced nothing better than a fuedal conflict; from which the of reigners benefitted.

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The sons of Sirdar Payunda Khan, who in history are as a rule termed as Barakzai Brothers, after the assassination of their

eldest brother Vazir Fa heeh Khan; and after rising to avenge the death of their brother banded themselves together against Shah Mahmud, Kamran and Shahshuja at Kandahar and at Herat, had in the stide of things eliminated their rivals. The influence of the Saduzis only remained paramount at Herat under Shah Mahmud and Kamran; but more particularly due to the strong rule of Yar Mohamed Khan. The rest of the country, including Kandahar, and Kabul came under influence. When the power was slipping out of the hands of the Saduzais, the Barakzai Brothers continued to muster in the region of Kandahar, Kabul and Peshawar; each of the group went its way to create a center at an important city in the country, inorder to make a place for himself to rule; so that one section was named as the Peshawari Brothers and others were known as the Kandari Brothers. In Kabul the position was of a different kind, for here two of the most important nobles of this Barakzai branch leaped in the arena as contestents; name Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan. The various tactics of the contests of these two important Sirdar had been detailed in this series of articles.

The untimely death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, gave the hope that the struggle between these rivals would then be automatically be decided in favour of the one who lived; namely Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan; and the people who had been drawn in two camp, and were anxious and disturbed would find a release from these un-necessary family fued. Unfortunately, however, the matter could not be solved with such easy. The death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan created more grave a situation; and dangerous position, became more dangerous, The interplay of power and wealth, which had amalgamated in the city of Kabul; that is wealth of the late Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan now being in the hands of his son Habibullah Khan: and the power being centered in the hands of the puppet King Ayub Shah produced further complications in which the Kandahari Brothers had to interfere. During that time the Sikhs had deated the forces of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan after the battle of Machina but Sardar yar Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan were permitted to hold these lands as a vassallage

and in Kandahar, Sirdar Pur Dil Khan and Sirdar Shair Dil Khan had their headqurtars. These two wante to terminate the rule of the Saduzis at Herat; but they were not successful.

As the generl conditions of the country was of that character at the time; and we had said above that Sirdar Hubibullah Khan as the son and heir of the late Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan; and Ayub Shah as the "king", each at his place considered themselves as a Minister of the Realm and the king of the country centered at Kabul. But each was struggling against the other. Quite naturrlly all the Sirdars of Kandahar were awaiting the turn of events; for all thought some thing must break; till Pur Dil Khan, either with he connivance or otherwise of Sirlar Habibullah Khan, started for Kabul; with the result that Ayub Shah was imprisoned and his son was killed; which brought the Saluzai rule in Kabul to a close; and Sirdar Habibullah Khan beacame the ruler of Kabul without a rival-atleast without a rival at the time of the crime of Pur Dil Khan. But affairs could not be decided finally in this way: for at a time, when Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Peshawar groups had nothing in common with each other; the whole scene of activity produced a fuedal contests all over the country; for over half a century. Pur Dil Khan took a share of affairs at Kabul left for Kandahar and the moneyed Habibullah Khan was left in peace long, till Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, finding that his rival was not upto his stature, raise the standard of revolt against Habibullah Khan; and uncle and nephew now were at logger heads wifh each other. The struggle was now open and voilent, and although with the intercession of such men as Nawab Jabbar Khan and Nayab Aminullah Khan Logari, Doust Mohamed Khan's case was in the farohrable scale of balance; and when it appeared that he would succeed, Habibullah Khan and his brother Mohamed Akram Khan appealed to their other uncle, Shair Dil Khan to assist them; upon which Sirdar Shair Dil Khan reached Kabul. Ita ppeared in the first instance that Shair Dil Khan had his own plans; and throngh his machination, he wanted to destroy the plans of both of the contestents-Doust Mohamed Khan and Habibullah Khan-an to secure Kabul for himself. At a time when conditions all over the country were indefinte and each noble ca-

nted to look to his interest; thus he desired that he should now get Kabul as his prize. He also wanted that for all the Sirdars' landed property and shares of the proceeds of the realm could be apportioned ; so that the affairs of the country could be united and external dangers could be faced with a hope of winning the struggle ; possibly againt the Sikhs. Shair Dil Khan, however, managed to imprison both Habibullah Khan and Dous Mohamed Khan at Bala Hisar ; but soon releasing them pronounced his award in the sense that Hibibullah Khan was sent out to Logar ; and to Donst Mohamed Khan one Lakh of rupees were given from the inhertence of the late Sirdar Azeem Khan, and in addition he was made a governor of Kohistan and Ghazni. Inspite of it all. the final settlement could not be arrived at ; and battles took place between him and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan in the environments of Bala Hisar, at Shah Shaheed and Beeni Nizar and on the hills of Marunjan. When the fighting men of the contestents were busy in battle against each other, the Sirdars used to come together in the tent of Nawab Samad Khan to discuss their various poins of dispute ; till it was ultimately decided that Sirdar Shair Dil Khan was to be crnsidered as the head of the Barakzi Brothers ; and to all other brothers various portions of property and activities were appotioned :

Inasmuch as the Peshawar area could be sufficient for five brothers, namely Yar Mohamed khan, Sultan Mohamed khan, Ata Mohamed Khan, Said Mohamed Khan and Pir Mohamed Khan; it was decited the last three persons should continue to profit by the revenue of that area; and the two yar Mohamed Khan and Sultan Mohamed Khan should return to Kabul. The rulership of Kohistan and Ghazni was deputed to Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan and his real brother Sirdar Amir Mohamed Khan; the first named was to be the governor of Kohistan, ind Amir Mohamed Khan was to be the governor of Ghazni; Nawab Jabbar Khan was to be the governor of Lughman; and Nawab Asad Khan was to be in charge of the remaining portion of the area of Dera Jat; Sirdar Shair Dil Khan, his real brothers such as Kuhin Dil Khan, and Mihr Dil Khan were to be responsible for Kandahar; and their fifth brother Raham Dil Khan was

to rule over Sindh; Nawab Zaman Khan the son of Nawed Samad Khan was made the governor of Jalalabad; and Habibullah Khan the son of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, who was really responsible for all this discord and trouble, was made responsible for Logar. Sirdar Shair Dil Khan after dividing the country in this fashion-which may be called the scheme of Sirdar shair Dil Khan- left for Kandahar and died in the month of Muharram 1242. A.H. (1856.A.D) The death of Sirdar shair Dil Khan, and death of other Sirdars like Yar Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Rahmdil Khan, as well as other circumstance that came into being, occasioned the producing another Scheme of Apportionment.

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THE SCHEME OF 1242. A. H.

ARTICLE TWENTY THIRD

At the time when the position of the Saduzai rule had become very feeble at Kabul, and that it ultimately completely disappeared; and when Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan becoming powerful in the central part of the country; the Barakzai Brothers and their descendents several times resorted to the apportioning of the country as their personal property. The reason of this was the large number of the descendents and relatives; and every one of them wanted a share according to his own relatives and their numbers. This state of affairs unfortunately created a spirit of fuedal system of government; but the matter came to be better pass with the advent and the growing power of Amir Doust Mohamed Khan.

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In the article number twenty two, we had given some details about the apportioning of the country into several parts amongest the Sirdars and their sons; this scheme was evolved after the death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan; which was ultimately resolved during the life of Sirdar Shair Dil Khan.

When Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan were in a secret conflict with each other over the ruling

power of Kabul, all the other Barakzai Brothers at Kandahar were awaiting the outcome of the struggle. Those Sirdars who were in Peshawar, too, watched the day of a final clash or agreement between Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan. This attitude of expectations continued for the other Sirdrs did not want to compticate themselves in an affair, which ultimately must be solved one way or the other. this continued till Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan died; and his sudden death altered the stiuation rapidly; because as the balance deserted Kabul as a center; those Barekzai Brothers, who lived more ot less contently at Kandahar and at Peshawar, now took a deeper interest in the affair of Kabul. From Kàndahar, therefore, first Sirdar Pur Dil Khan, and then Sirdar Shair Dil Khan entered Kabul. The interference of the Sirdars of Kandahar, quite naturally had to decide the struggle which raged between Sirdar Habibullah Khan theson of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan ane Sirdar Doust Mohame Khan. All this produced a struggle; which occasioned animosity between the Barakzai Sirdars and disturbed the peace of the mind of the people. Ultimately Sirdar Shair Dil Khan produced a scheme of Apportioning which had been discribed in the artiele number twenty two. Inspite of the fact that to each brother vast enougt property had been given, the outward appearance did not portray the inner feelings of their hearts; for as expectations of greater magnitude were in in the hearts of these men; conditions arose, which made the operations scheme of Shair Dil Khan nul and void. There could be done nothing else than to evolve a fresh Scheme

Sirdar Shair Dil Khan after laying down his plans, left for Kandahar; and in the month of Muhharum of 1242. A. H. he did. As Kabul, according to his scheme was given to Sirdar Yar Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan; the first named Sirdar took over the government of Kadul into his hands, and other of their brothers like Ata Mohamed Khan, Said Mohamed Khan and Pir Mohamed Khan remained as before at Peshawar. Later on when Sirdar Ata Mohame Khan died, Sirdar Yar Mohamed Khan took over the government ot Peshawar, and gave the government of Kabul to his brother Sultan Mohamed Khan; although according to the scheme Sirdar Doust

Mohamed Khan was given the government of Kohistan and Sirdar Amir Mohamed Khan was made the ruler of Ghazni, but Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, who for long had cherished the rulership of Kabul (and according to that view the problem of fuedal system could have solved itself there by) those battles which he had fought about the governorship of Kabul against Sirdar Mohan ed Azeem Khan, he with his son Sirdar Habibullah Khan and later against Pur Dil Khan and Shair Dil Khan; were now re-strtaed with Sultan Mohmed Khan. Engagments for the possession of Kabul, which took plact between two Sirdars and two brothers resulted in Sirdar Doust Mohamee Khan, backed as he with Kohistans, and Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan took Kabul.

The matter could not be allowed to go unheeded by other Barakzai Brothers ; therefore , not desiring further bloodshed ; it was decided to evolve a fresh Scheme of Apportionment of the country . This took place on the 10 th of the month of Rabeeh Us-Sani 1242 A. H . and was duly signed . A few lines of that Document , which is a ducument of considerable historical importance - and now reposes in the Kabul Museum - we quote below :

"As at this time the date being 10th of the Month of Rabeeh us-Sani the year one thousand and two hundred and fortytwo , and in view of the differences that have arisen between us the Brothers, and the city of Kabul - the capital - has fallen to the arms of Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan ; all the brothers and nephews have gathered together for the purpose of reconciliation and peaceful settlement and the welfare of the family ; We have , thus arrived at a settlement as herebelow for the management of the country : Kohat , anb Anko and its dependencies should be taken in hand by Nawab Abdus Samad Khan ; the region of Pesliawar , Hashnagar and Khalisajat ete appertaining to theme are to be managed by Sirdard Yar mohamed Khan and Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan , Sirdar Said Mohamed Khan ; Sirdar Pir Mohamed Khan ; and the capital city of Kabul and Kohdaman and Khalisajat and its dependencies to be under Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Amir Mohamed Khan ; and the revenue of the Chilzi of the Capital should be for Nawab Abdul Jabbar Khan;

the region of Jalalbad and Tajika Lughman should be in the ownership of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan and his brothers ; and the region of Lohgar and Churkh and Tajika Maydan and Khalisiah Lahurgar to be for Sirdar Habibullfa Khan , sn Sirdar Mohamed Akram Khan and his brothers ; so that in this way each of them, his territory . . . . .

It has been noted that this Schem of Apportioning was made about 127 . years ago amongst the sons and grandson of Sirdar Payunda Khan, when Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan had taken Kabul after much trouble and no little expense. The purpose of this Agreement was that Brothers should no longar feel dis-satisfied. In this Agreement, as may be noticed there is no reference about the Sirdars of Kandahar; whereas in an earlier Agreement there is distinct reference regarding the property in Kandahar and the appointment of Sirdar Rahm Dil Khan as the governor of Sindh. The important point, which emerges from this new Agreement of the Sirdars is that in 1242 . A . H . Accord all these Sirdars were satisfied with their share; and no reference made regarding their property in the document. The reality of the fact is that the Agreement propounded by Sirdar Shair Dil Khan, which had come into being as the result of the interference of the Kandahari Sardars; and their shares as befitted was given to them; and these shareholders, after the death of Sirdar Shair Dil Khan were not desirous of any thing else. The spirit of the 1242 . A . H . agreement was that a reconcilattory feeling should be brought in the atmosphere between Sirdar Do t Mohamed Khan snd those Sirdards who lived at Peshawar such a (Sirdar Yar Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan) the last named had a share in the Kabul administartion. This agreement, in affect, did produce that spirit of co-operation which it had in viwe. This agreement contrived to give opportunity and power enough to proclaim his rule in Kabul, and to extricate the affairs from frequent fuedal discord and difficulties and the system of fuedal system was removed

SIRDAR KOHIND DIL KHAN & THE KANDAHAR GOVERNMENT.

Article twenty forth

The subject of the government of Kandahar rose from the time, when the Brothers had not yet aquired ocwer at the central government; and thus, they had agreed to apportion the territory amongest the brothers. During the first period of the rule of Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan and at the time when Kamran, the Sadozai king was ruling at Herat, Kandahar was in the hands of the Kandahari Sirdars. One of the reasons of the success of the English aggression in this country, was undeniably the system of apportioning of the territory amongst the Barakzai people. After the expulsion of the English from the country, Sirdar Kohind Dil Khan took Kandahar from the hands of the sons of Shahshuja, and established his power and rule at Kandahar. After his death, however, Amir Doust Mohamed Khan; brought the two sections of the country, namely Kandahar and Herat under his suzerianty for the purpose of the unity of the kingdem.

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Amongst the sons of Sirdar Paynnda Khan, a number were from a Ghilzi mother - namely Pur Dil Khan, Shair Dil Khan, Kohin Dil Khan, Mahr Dil Khan and Rahm Dil Khan; and these brothers were Known as the Sirdars of Kandahar. This appallation had been given to them, merely because of the locality of their residence as Kandahar.

When Vazir Fateh Khan, through his efforts and help was able to secure the kingdom for Shah Mahmud the Saduzai for the second time: and installed himself as the Chief Minister; he brought his brothers into the avenues of government administration; so that Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan was appointed as governor at Kandahar; Sirdar Rahm Dil Khan at Bluchistan and finally Shair Dil Khan was appointeed the administrator at Ghazni. when the appalling incident of blinding of Vazir Fateh Khan, on the order of Prince Kamran at Herat occurred; the Sirdars Shair Dil Khan and Kohin Dil Khan betook themselves to their mother at Naad Ali near Lui Addi: and when Shah Mahmud was defeated by Doust Mohamed Khan at the Killa Qazi; the sons of Lui Addi attacked Kan-

ahar, and took that city from Shah Mahmud's governor one named Gul Mohamed Khan Popul Zai.

From that day onward the influence of these Sirdars in Kandahar continued unabated.

According to the details that had been given in several articles of this series under various headings; after the incident of the securing of a rulership at Herat by Shah Mahmud the Sadu Zai; the remaining Parts of Afghanistan came under the influence of the Barakzai Brothers. Immediately, these Barakzai Sirdars, therefore, started on the scheme of creating a center of government in the regions then in their Power. These endeavours started from 1818 to 1843.A.D. when ultimately Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan became the ruler of Afghanistan. Events that arose during the two above mentioned dates; are replexte with internecine struggles and wars; which were in the nature of a kaleidoscope; for after the death of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan a series of incidents took place at Kabul which without exception attracted the interests of the Sirdars of Kandahar and of Peshawar and these took such ugly turns and would have precipitated grave consequences unless the Scheme of 1238-A.H. and 1242.A-H. saved the situation at Kabul and in the country. The first Scheme of 1238 A.H. is known as the Agreement of Sirdar Shair Dil Khan, which divided the territory south of the Hindu Kuoh amongst the Brothers and according to that Agreement, Sirdars Shair Dil Khan, Pur Dil Khan, Kohin Dil Khan and Mihr Dil Khan were to receive the government of Kandahar; and governorship of Sindh was deputed to their fifth brother, one named Rahm Dil Khan; and in the same way other areas like Peshawar were given to other brothers. Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan received Kohistan.

When Shair Dil Khan returned to Kandahar from Kabul, and hear that the Sindi people had arisen against Rahm Dil Khan, he launched a striking force against that region. But as he was on that expedition; he died on the 5th of Muharrum 1242-A.H. Meantime as Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan had taken Kabul from Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan, Sirdar Pur Dil Khan considered this step as against the spirit of the family

Awards. He started on a military expedition due to this disregard of the spirit of the Awards; and the forces of Pur Dil Khan and those of Doust Modamed Khan faced each other at a point near Mujar river. But a plague that struck both camps, the battle was postponed, and a peace was cemented between the two contestents. This was how Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan retained Kabul, and Sirdar Pur dil Khan continued as a master of Kandahar . This too, was the shape of things whereby the government of Kandahar remained in the hands of the Barakzi Brothers. Sirdar Pur Dil Khan, till his death in the year 1245.A.H. was the master of Kandahar; after which, although other Sirdars, like Kohin Dil Khan, Mihr Dil Khan and Rahm Dil Khan were still alive; the rulership of Kandahar was in the hands of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan; who with the help of his brothers managed to retain his position for 25 years. We would now study his activities which mark his time of rule in Kandahar from1245.A.H. to 1271.A.H. as a general current of history:

1245.A.H. is a year when Prince Kamran after the death of his father took the reigns of the government into his hands; and with the help and good advice of Yar Mohamed Khan, the Sabuzai kingship was made secure. In Kabul the scene was different, for upto the year 1254. A. H.-the beginning of the rule of Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khanthe rivalry between the Barakzai Brothers for the purpose of getting the throne of Kabul has continued. The English aggession under the cloak of helping Shah Shuja took place in the year 1255. A. H. Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan ruled at kandahar; and it is period when larger affairs of an itternational character sprang up, when the English and ths Russians were taking deep interest in Afganistan. It is a time when Kamran ruled at Herat; Kohin Dil Khan at Kandahar and Amir Doust Mohamed Khan directed the destinies of Kabul government. The Russians were on the one hand inciting the Persian Qachars to lift their hands against the Saduzai; on the other hand wanted to secure Kabul and Kandahar; thus Captain Vakuvich was sent to Kabul and to Kandahar. One of the most important matters, which took shape during the time of Kohin Dil Khan at Kandahar was an Agreement which was signed between him and the Russian Envoy . This very Envoy also came to Kabul; so that

this. Russian envoy and the English Agent Burns both arrived in Kabul about the same time.

Amir Doust Mohamed Khan viewing the help rendered to the Siks and an incitement to them to inroad Afghanistan showed his inelination to the Russians; and the English without taking the trouble of this reason which was at the bottom of the Amir's policy under the guise of a help to Shahshuja aggressed against Afghanistan. Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, assisted by his brothers, defended the country against the aggressors; but the treachery of Haji Khan Kakari and his surrundering to Shah Shuja, opened the gate of Afghanistan to the English forces of Agression. Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan, who due to the internal strife could not go either to Herat or to Kabul; took refuse at the court of the Persians, by flying by way of Seistan and the valley of Hermond.

During the period of four years of the English occupation of Afghanistan, the various parts of the country, like Kabul, Kandahar, and Jalalabad were naturally held by Shah Shuja.

From the second of November 1841.A.D. till the middle of 1842.A.D. when Kabul and Ghazni were freed; the English forces held Kandahar. Rawlinson, the English political agent wanted to send the foreign troops from Kandahar to Kabul and Herat.

General Nott and Major Rawlinson, the military and political agents of the English prior to the avocnation from Kandahar, and the meeting with English forces at Kabul for the purpose of leaving the country by way of the eastern reaches of the land; resolved to play a last political game and to isolate Kabul from both Kandahar and Herat; and to continue their hold when he had left the country through working under the guise of the sons of Shah Shuja. With a view to this, first of all they put prince Timour as a king; but as he had observed that the collaps of the Saduzai was complete, refused to accept the English offer. After that the throne was offered to the second son of Shah Shuja, one named Safdar Jung; and plaeed one named Sirdar Mohamed Quli Khan as his minister.

Even all this no amalgamation and co-operation between the Barakzais and the Saduzais could be made; for four Months had

not pessed, when Sirdar Kdohin Dill Khan retuned from Iran. The minister Sirdar Mohamed Quli Khan of the puppet king, immediately allied himself with the Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan. A battle was fought at Houz Sung Sar, about 28 miles west of Kandahar; in which Kohin Dil Khan was successful: and it is the last of those battles which were fought against the puppet king. There after Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan held Kandahar and governed it.

During the second period of reign of Amir Doust Mohamed Khan at Kabul, and a permanent rule of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan at Kandahar, the two clashed due to the interference of Sirdar Sultan Ahmad Khan; and it was possible that a battle might be fought between the two, near the Muqar river but matters were agreed upon without fighting. As a result Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan continued to rule over Kandahar; and Amir Doust Mohamed Khan held Kabul as the ruler. Personal animosity between the two, however, continued to smoulder; till first of all Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan died on Friday 27th of Jamaus Sani; and after him Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan went to answer his Master on Tuesday the 7th of Zilhijh. Afrer the death of these two Sirdar, difference arose between Sirdar Rahm Dil khan and the sons of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan over the governorship of Kandahar; an appeal was made to Amir Doust Mohamed Khan; Kandahar was taken by Amir Doust Mohamed Khan's son Sirdar Shair Ali Khan: thus Kandahar administration melted away; and it became a province of the realm of Afghanistan, now ruled by Amir Doust Mohamed Khan.

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TWO CROWING CEREMONIES

ARTICLE: TWENTY FIFTH

(The barley and wheat heads)

In the year 1160.A.h. (1747.A.D,)a coronation took place at the shrine of Shair SurKh of kandahar; and a similiar coronation tooK place at Kobul-Siah Sung - in the year 1254.A.H. (1835.A.D;) both of these being those simple ceremonies which mark the crowing of Afghan kings. Upon the crown of one the head of barley was placed

and on the other a head of wheat. At one place the great Divine Sabir Shah, the great Sufi performed the solumn ceremoney at kabul; and at Kandahar Mir Haji son of Mir Wayaz Perlormed this duty. The men who wore the crowns of wheat heads and barley heads, were Ahmed Shah Durrani, the founder of the Durrani dynasty of kings; and the other one was Amir Doust mohamed khan. the founder of the Mohamadzai dynasty.

* * *

After the sudden death of Nadir Afshar in the night of 19th June 1747.A.D. at Fatehabad. , ... (cannot be deciphered . . . .) fell into the hands of the important nobles of his. Ahmed Khan with Noor Khan as the commander of the Afghan troops—a unit consisting of over fifteen thousand—started from Herat to Kandahar, so that the foundation of a Kingship could be laid at Kandahar.

Immediately a large Jirghah was assembled consisting of the leaders of clan sat the shrine of Shair Surkh, the remains of which still could be seen along the northern walls of the city. Leaders of clans, like Noor Mohamed Khan Gilzia, Mohabat Khan Foful Zai, Mosa Khan Ashaq Zai; Nasrullah Khan Noor Zai; Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai etc etc; but the selection of a king was not made with such an ease as was expected , because in regards to the traditions and qualities required, the heads of the various clans did not rely upon each others choice. Discussions became very lengthy. So Prolonged were these trobal sittings that they were called eight times at Shair Surkh till the great sage and divine one named Sabir Shah, lived in the shrine, termited the discussion; selected Ahmed Shah, who was sitting quietly in a corner; and a head of corn—wheat — which the divine had picked up in an adjoining field entwined as acorn upon the head of Ahmed Shah—Ahmed Khan.

Important leaders, including Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai, accepted the holy man,s decision with humble and devout feelings. It was thus that the coronation of one of the greatest sons of this country, whose activities and sagacity named him as the head and the leader of the Sadozais, took place in such simplicity.

The time of the rule of the Saduzai, with the greatness of the rule of Ahmed Shah; and the dynasty's periods of ups and down continued in history of the time. This continued, till the mistakes and doubts of Shah Mahmud and Kamran, precipitated the awaful act of the blinding and ultimate assassination of Fathe Khan; which in time contributed to the rapid fall of the Sadozai House and the rise of the Barakzai Brothers and Barakzai rule. At the death of some of these Barakzai Sirdars, and the incident of Amir Doust Mohamad Khan,s taking over Kabul government established a Barakzai rule in Afghanistan. But Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan had not as yet assumed the prerogatives of the rule in an official manner, and coronation had had not been effected when on of a sudden from the south-eastern direction of the country; the danger of Shah Shuja made its appearance. Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan, at the ivitation of his brothers, namely Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan and Rahm Dil Khan proceeded to Kandahar and removed the danger for a time at least. On his return to Kabul, he wanted to concentrate his attention towards dispelling the danger of attacks of the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh; and to proclaim a Holy War; he was informed that the Holy War could only be proclaimed by aMoslem Head of the Government: which impelled him to proclaim himself as king.

Do you know where and in what circumstances this coronation took place? Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan was riding out with a few of his retainers in the neighbourhood of the Idd Mosque in the east of Bala Hisar under the foot hills of Siah Sung. In spite of the fact that there were not many men with him; Mir Haji, son of the late Mir Wayaz, as the leader of the divine of the time, tied a head of barley round Sirdar Doust Mohamed Khan's head; thus under most modest conditions, the Sirdar was now known as the king. His tile was now the leader of the Faithful. His name was so proclaimed from the mosques. He struck a coinage, which brings the days of the Holy War into ones recollection.

Amir Doust Mohamed Khan, therefore, started on a Holy War; the ceremonies that were inacted so simply on the occasion of the crowing of Ahmed Shah Durrani in 1747. A. D. as the head of the Sa-

duzie dynasty; and the equal ceremoney of simplicity was manifested in crowing Amir Doust Mohamed Khan; one by the head of wheat, and the other by barley; the two have a close resemblence. The one was effected at Kandahar and the other one at Kadul. But the spirit of the two is the same. The two adorned their crowns with the products of their country.

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THE FORWARD POLICY.

ARTICLE: TWENTY SIXTH.

During the fifty years, which comprise the second half of the 19th centry of the Christian Era; wiser heads in the Punjab, in the Sindh, in Simla or even in London; were all: whether high English officers, or political thinkers; were in earnest search of a permanent Boundry line between Afghanistan and India. Many theories and observations were projected. One such was the so called the Forwrad Policy. This policy had its advocates-at various times in the second half of the 19th. Century. The followers of thts school are responsible for rendering asunder the friendly relations between Afghanistan and the English: this, too was the policy which brought large tracts of our country under the aggrssion of the English; which also brought about the question of the Frontiersi unfortanately where the tribal people regret the lack of appreciation of their rights.

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In the 18th.article under the of "ON THE SEARCH OF A FRONTIER LINE„ we had given particulars about two Schools of politics; one apperaining to the Advance Policy and the other one to Stay —Put; till atlast the determination towards the Forward Policy for drawing a line of demarcation was spoken of; in connection with Afghanistan and India. As the English and the political thinkers had over thrown the Close Border Policy; and adopted the Forward policy which produced so much difficulty between the two governments of Afghanistan and England; our country was subjected to aggression. Certain parts of the land of Afghanistan were detached through guile, both military and. political; we desire here to speak a little more fully in this connection

This Forward Policy, according to some, is also termed as the Sindh poriey or the policy of the Sindh School. This is oppoed to another

term, which is called the Close Border Policy or the Punjab School. The reason of so naming these is that the officers serving in the Punjab held the view of the Close Border Policy, whilst those had seen service in Sindh, were wedded to the Policy of the Forward Movement or the Sind School. The inventor of the Sindh School was one Major John Jackob; and when the Persians with the instigation of the Russians, it was he who suggestion to the government of India to annex Quetta. There is, of course, no doubt that the various schools amongst the English political thinkers, were influenced by the desire of protection of their possessions in India. In asmuch as Afghanistan had two important valleys, one at Kyber and other at Bolan; which could give them protection if they held troops at Peshawar; the English thinkers were quite satisfied with their defences from this direction Major John Jacob, however, was of the opinion that in the direction of Quetta, the position of the English defences required further strengthening. So that whenever Russia may send its troops in Central Asia; British troop could be sent with ease to Herat.

Lord Canning, however; was greatly opposed to this view. He never desired that the British troops should enter the Afghan territory; and that it should cross the country of the Afghans in order to reach Herat. This English Governor General further held that it was not possible to enter Afghanistan even with an amagamated force and to give battle at a given point; and thence to return home safely and attacks could not be inflicted upon such a force by the Afghans.

Lord Cannings observations went further than that; for in support of his view he stated that the strengthing of the Afghans, and their power, produces no danger to the Indian Government; but a strong Afghanistan would constitute a protection for India. Pursuing that line he continued that if Afghanistan was composed of smaller units, it will be week, and its defences would, thereby suffer, and " I hope to see, " he said, "to see that country as a strong country, which could be counted for as the defence of the Indian possessions."

It was on this score that a conflict of opinion between Lord Canning and Major Jacob continued; but the major, who had a wild

temper stuck to his views; and contrived to ally a number of other officers serving in Sindh to his views. Even then, other high officers in India, such as Lord Achison, Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, during their term office gave a practical shape to the theory of Forward Policy. At the time of the coronation of Amir Shair Ali Khan, when he ascended the throne of Afghanistan for a second time, Sir Henry Lawrence sent a Despatch to London. Sir Henry was a supported of Forward policy, and during the First Afghan War was the English Agent at Kandahar. He felt the danger of Russia in Central Asia, and taking into account the defence of India, his Despatch to London had a meaning of its own. He proposed that English Agents, both political and Commercial should be sent out from England to Afghanistan and to various rulers of Central Asian Khanates in order to strengthen the British position in those localities. This political thinker of England thought that the English influence at Quetta and in the Valley of Kurram Pass should be made manifest. Also that the regions of the north-west should be strengthened. But Lord Lawrence, who had previously opposed the Forward Policy advised that beyond the river Indus the English should not set their foot; and held that under no circumstances any interference in Afghan matters should be effected. He further added that even if this interference in the beginning should be localised and limited in its scope, it will take the matters to a pass when the occupation of the whole country would become imparative; as was the case in the year 1838. A. D. the results of which were very well known.

Lord Lawrence was prepard to meet Amir Sheir Ali Khan at Umballa; but when Lord Mayo became the Governor General after Lord Lawrence, this meeting was held between the Amir and the Governor General. As a resuls the bondry line between Russia and Afghantstan was demarcated; and the Russian Government undertook to consider Afghantstan outside her sphere of influence. This was effected in the year 1873. A. D. Amir Shair Ali Shah sought the help of money and arms, in case the Russian aggression might take place; but the English made it a condition that such a help could be given only, if the English were permitted to

control the foreign affairs of Afghanistan. This ofcourse, limited the independence of the country, In fact as a result of a change in the English cabinet, even those indefinite promises which were given by the Indian government, could not be vindicated. During the term of office of Lord Salisbery in the year 1875. A. D. the proposal of sending our commercial and political agents from England to various points were broached to the government of Lord Beaconsfield. The points indicated were Herat and Kandahar, but Lord Northbrook, completely negatived the proposal; and clearly indicated that the king of Afghanistan would not accept their English representatives in Afghanistan. Also insistence upon this point will destroy the English friendly connection with the Afghans. As Lord Northbrook was doggedly opposed to the view, and he was the Secretary of State for India, the proposal of sending out of the English Agents was abandoned. Lord Lytton, however, took the political thread from the very beginning; and his scheme precipitated the second Afghan War. Amir Shair Ali Khan, who always thought of the defence of his country and who was desirous of the friendship of his neighbours and cordiality between the English and the Afghan; as a result of the mistaken Forward Policy lost his thrrone; and died with his hopes unfulfilled at Mazir Sharief. The English forgetting the bloodshed that occurred in their First Afghan War, especially during their progress between Jalalabad and Kabul invaded once again the country of the Afghans.

After this unjustified aggression on the Part of the English many more aggressive steps were taken; such as the over-running the independent territories of the sovereign clansmen, the building of a railway up to the military ourposts by the British officers of the Indian government. Two persons, one named Sir Robert Sandiman, and Lord Roberts played significant role in these aggressive invasions by the Englih into our country. Sandiman was of the opinion that the influence of the British must be introduced amongst the independent tribesmen. He thought, too, that if the tribesmen during the peacetime joined our forces, their interests and ours would prevent them to act in an animosity towards us. Also that when we might consider it as our interest in any defensive measure, and may have the power of defence, our tribesmen would

help us. Lord Robert, who gave battle to the Afghan forces both at Kabul and at Kandahar, and was the Commander In Chief of the British forces in India, was deeply wedded to the Forward Policy; and he should be regarded as the leader of those who wished to usurped the independence of the tribal people; and the greatest aggressor of Afghan territory. Lord Roberts was of opinon that the English should continually make military progress in the tribal lands; the term No Man's Land connoting the tribal areas, areas which form the part of the country of Afghanistan was first used by Lord Roberts.

During the term of offiee of Lord Lawncedown, the school of Forward Policy was very much at the forefront of policies; two persons, one being the Governor General and the other the Commander in Chief when they got together, could Produce nothing else than uneasiness in Afghanistan, the Treaty of Gundumak; and the preoccupation of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan during the first years of his reign, and took advantage of conditions in this country; so that gradually the passes of Gomal, Kurram and Chitral as well as other regions were annexed. Amir Abdur Rahman Khan saw these intrusions with considerable disgust; and thus not only did he express himself verbally but in actual fact he (the Amir) made official protestations against the English designs. Some of this we had showed in our article in the newspaper Annis-under the Heading "Amir Abdur Rahman Khan and the Durrand Line," -dated 8th. Hamal 1330. Shumsi. As a result of all this, the English were compelled to take in hand the question of boundry line in the year 1893. A. D.- a boundry line between Afghanistan and India, as an immediate measure. The English were of the opinion that inorder to arrange the matter of a boundry bdtween the two countries, they might send Lord Robert to Afghanistan; but the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, who knew that man's purpose from the very beginnig, and abhored him; he did not agree that a delegation may come till Robert was in India; thus Mortimond Durrand was appointed for the purpose and came to Kabul.

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THE TRIPARTITE TREATY: The English, The Sikhs & Shuja.

ARTICLE TWENTY SEVENTH

It is possible that the readers may have heard ef this Treaty, which was signed between the English, the Sikhs and Shuja. There would hardly be a Treaty more rdiculous and laughable than this treaty. Quite apart from the fact that a king who had no throne and was a refugee; had no right whatever to contract a treaty; the terms of the reaty make it quite apparent that the degree of greed had made Shuja an object of play in the hands of the Sikhs, and to what extent the Sikhs themselves had become the tools of the Englisk chicanry. The text of that document due to its absolutely laughable texture introduce to us Ranjit Singh and Macnaughton. Ranjit wanted to get a documents from the king-without a throne for the acquiring of some land; and the English desired that the amalgumated forces of the Sikhs and those of Shuja may be thrown upun a people, who according to the English, were threatening the western defences of India. That all this should be done for the benefit of a policy of imperial expension is quite obvious. The text of this treaty has been copied from a handwritten manuscritpt which contains the facts about the reign of Shashvja; and the style of writig is very good.

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Shah Shuja, the refugee king, and hiding for his life as a prisoner of the Sikhs, who saw much cruel treatment at hands of Ranjit Singh; and lived at Ludhiana, in his greed to acquaire the throne and land over wihch he once ruled ignominiously was alwsys willing to become the tool of the Sikhs and the English.

The treaty which was contracted between Shahshuja, the Sikhs and the English is one of those treaties which are obsolutely illegal without truth and without a principle; which expresses greed on the part of Shahshuja, on the oart of the Sikhs an urge to acquire territory and on the part of the English it portrayed the hidden intentions of interference and of placing conflict

between the people. Everyone knows that Ranjit Singh from the time of the Saduzais was merely a governor of the Saduzais in the Punjab; and that the Sikhs under him, from the early times of ruler of Zaman Shah at the instigation of the English had been intrasigent: till the then Saduzai king made him a govenor of Lahore; a governor of the king of Afghanistan. This Sikh ruler, taking advantage of the death of Zaman Shah, and the conflict of the Barakzai Brothers, ha' proclaimed himself as a Maharaja. Nor was it all, but he started a series of aggressions in Kashmire, in Peshawar and even in the areas beyond the river Indus. When Amir Doust Mohamed Khan became king and a battle was fought between him and the Sikhs regarding Peshawar and animosity was further increased, the Sikhs thought that advantage should be sought from the antagonism of the Saduzai Shah Shuja and the Barkazi Brothers; so that the greed of Shah shuja made be used against the rightful king of Afghanistan. As Shuja was ever ready to sign a treaty between himself and the Sikhs in order to gain the throne; but just at that time, the English arrived in the scheme of things as a third party. Some of the English writers try rery hard to keep themselves out of the real reason of the devise; and aplogise that their inclusion was due to the insistence of the other two; and that the matter of animosity that existed between the Sikhs and the Afghans was something with which the Engish had no connection, and it was without the consent of the English that the Sikhs had been making inroads beyond the Indus; but the fact is that the inciment did come to the Sikhs from the English side in the name of Shah Shuja. The first Afghan war, and the English interference in matters of Afghanistan are factors the root cause of which can be found in this treaty beteen lhe three parties.

In the beginning of this affairs, the English were very pliant; and were even desirous that an alliance might be cemented between the Sikhs and Shah Shuja; and it was proposed that only a few fighting men may be provided by Shah Shuja, and the rest of the army should consitute the Sikhs; and the cost of the military expedition may be given by the English. Lord Canning the then Governor General in India was most keen to see the scheme come to practi-

cal shapes; and Macnauton, therefore, was appointed with a delegation to see Ranjit Singh at Adaninagar (31 st. May 1838. A. D.) During this meeting, Macnauton said that he had heard that a treaty had been signed between Ranjit Singh and Shahshuja; and asked whether it would not be to the benefit to the whole scheme, if a third party-the English-could not join the confederation. Ranjit Singh, replied that it was tantamount to adding sugar to the milk; thus sugar and milk were added together; but as a result, neither the milk of Shahshuja was sweetended, nor the Sikhs benefitted by the product thereof; but the land of Afghanistan was drenched with blood, and the hatred of the people against Shahshuja was increased very considerably; and then Shahshuja met his fatal end; and the English had to sustain moral and material losses. After the death of Ranjit Singh, the English pushed their influence on the western sides of the Indus river. In any case prior to the time when the Tripartite Treaty could be hammered into shape; both Sikhs and the English made a long discussion regarding the size and the strength of the expeditionary force. The English wanted that in the actual progress of aggression to push the Sikhs to face the dangers of battle, and they themselves only give money as their share of the bargain; but the Sikhs, who had seen the warlike skill of the Afghans; asked the English to give a fighting force. Atlast on the fateful day of 26th of June 1838. A. D. (23rd of Rabee-us-Sani 1253. A. H.) the articles of alliance on the part of the Sikhs and the English was signed, and it devolved upon Shaashuja. the refugee and abandone former ruler, who had no right to append his signature to the document. Shahshuja Saduzi, for his personal aggrandisement signed this shamful treaty. Its text is contained in 18 clauses, which has been taken from a handwritten manuscript giving details of the time and affairs of Shahshuja's reign.

In as much as between the governments of high placed Khalsa Jai, and the Government of the Lord of the earth Shahshuja ul Mulk a treaty has been evolved, four times; and for some reasons had been postponed; now as per Mr. The Honourable William G. Maucnauton, the fully accredited agent of His Honour the Governor Gneral Lord Ackland, as a mark of friendship had also been attested: the

agent of the Honourable Company came to meet the High Dignitory of His Highness the Maharaja of the Khalsas: have added a few more Clauses to the original text, which make eighteen clauses, in the spirit of accord and friendship have accepted and made valid on behalf of the Honourable East India Company: and these clauses shall not seperated, and are divisable.

CLAUSE NUMBER ONE:

That area which lies this side of the river Indus and the other side of the Indus; and which is in the possession of the Khalsa Sirkar the province of Kashmire, together with its environs and boundries east, west. north and south of Attock; Chuch Hazara Kahnabul Waut etc which are its dependencies; Peshawar with Yusufzai etc, Khatak, Hashnagar. Michni. Kohat, Hungo and all areas belonging to Phshawar region upto the Khyber, and Bunnu Wazir and Tonk, and Krank, and Killa Bagh and Khushal Ghur etc as its dependencies; together with Dera Ismail Khan with its dependencies, Dera Ghazi Khan and Kot Muthan and Omar Kot etc together with all its dependencies and Sungar, Arwat Mund, Dajal and Hajipore, and all the three Kachi and Munkeera with all its environments, and the province of Multan together with all its surroundings, pass out of the hands of the Saduzai government; and upon these territories the Saduzais Government shall have no claim generation after generation; these areas no longer belong to them and shall never belong to them.

Secodly that the above mentioned king will not permit any one to emmit any robbery on this side of the Khyber pass; or permit any disturbance of peace. If the officers of the goevrnments intentionaliy disregard their duties; or might absent themselves from duty; they shall be returned from either side: and that water which comes for the use of Killa Fatehkadah etc, shall we allowed to remain, and shall not stopped.

THIRD CLAUSE.

The crossing of any bod beyond the river Sutlij, according to the regulations of the Sikh government and the Laws of the Honourable East India Company shall be conducted in relation to Chitti, and permission of the Sikh Raj. Likewise the crossing over the river Indus, in which falls the river Sutlaj; the permission and Chitti of the Khalsa Raj is needed for the tribes. The King will not give such a permission without the permission of the Khalsa Raj.

FOURTH CLAUSE.

In relation to the affair of Shikar Pore and the territory of Sindh; which lie upon the river Sutlaj; the matter is a subject to be arranged between the Khalsa Raj and the Honourable East India Company through Captain Clark Martin Deed, the Political Agent; and such a settlement shall by fully accepted by the King aforementioned

FIFTH CLAUSE.

The above mentioned king, shall annually send to Peshawar the following items from Kabul and Kandahar; young horses of good pedegre, and of good colour and of good gate fifty five in number; and eleven swords of Persian good quality; and seven scimiters of Persian make and of good quality and twenty five good mules; fresh and dry fruit with melons of fresh and sweet kind; and grapes, pears, apples and almonds and currents inlarge quantities; also cloth of excellent quality, and furs, and gold-thread work; and Persian carpets; all told 101 items; and these would be sent to the Khalsa Raj year by year.

SIXTH CLAUSE.

The titles which are to be used between the two signitories shall be of equal status.

SEVENTH CLAUSE.

The king will permit and will not prohibit the bringing of any horses etc, which the traders, may desire to bring from Afghanistan to the territory of the Khalsa Raj; indeed, on the part of the

king such trade would be encouraged : and that on the part of the Khalsa, too, such reciprocal treatment would be made, and encouragement given.

EIGHTH CLASE.

The Khalsa ruler on his side will send woollen cloth etc, as a gift to the King every year ; the items being in the nature of : fifty five pieces of woollen cloth; muslin twenty five pes. inkhab, five pes, Doupatta of Benaras twentyone Than. Bahar. Nawa Multani five than : cloth for white turbans fiftyfive thans : rice Bara fiftyfive Seers.

NINTH CLAUSE.

When the dignitaries of the Khalsa journey to Afghanistan for horses, or for any other reason ; or for the purpose of buying or selling goods of the nature of whitening. wool etc or other items; and they should be so deputed to transact business to the extent of fifteen thousand rupees ; the king's government will provide fecilities to them ; as would the Khalsa Raj in the case of those sent from Afghanistan for such purposes.

TENTH CLAUSE.

If and when the forces of Khalsa Ji and those of the king join hands in an expedition ; the King's forces would not allow the killing of cows under any circumstances and in any way whatever.

ELEVENTH CLAUSE.

When the allied forces of the King and the Khalsa Ji fight as allies against the Barakzais; whatever booty in the shape and form of jewels, horses and arms or similiar articles come to hand, half of such booty shall be given to the Khalsa Ji. and half of it shall be for the king; but if such booty falls in to the hands of the forces the of the king alone, then the king shall send a Portion of such booty consisting of horses, fine material and mall and big arms and jewels to the Khalsa Raj as a gift through a trustworthy envoy.

TWELVTH CLAUSE.

Always trustworthy envoys and messengers from the king and from the Khalsa Raj would visit each others court and shall exchange usual friendly messages and keep in contact by sending presents to each other.

THIRTEENTH CLAUSE.

Whenevr the Khalsa Raj may require military aid from the king in virtue of this agreement, the king shall send his troops under the command of big Sirdars; and likewise, the Khalsa Raj for the purpose of help,as laid down in this Agreement shall send its Moslem troops under the command of important commanders to Kabul. When the ruler of the Khalsas may visit Peshawar, one of the Princes representing the king should come to pay respect to the Sikh ruler; and the Prince shall be received with due honour and consideration.

FOURTEENTH CLAUSE.

The friends and enemies of the Khalsa Raj and friends and enemies of the East India Company, shall be the friends and enemies of the King.

IFFTEENTH CLAUSE.

Two lakhs of Nanukshahi rupees or rupees of ordinary kind, shall be sent annually to the Khalsa Raj without fail by the king in exchange for the expenses of troops used to establish the king upon his throne. From the Khalsa Raj troops consisting of five thousand cavalry and infantry shall be posted at Peshawar, which could be sent to help the king with the co-operation and help of the honourable East India Company if and when required. Should a larger threat materialise from the west, then the stemming of it shall be undertaken jointly by the Sikh Raj and the Honourable East India Comany.If the Khalsa Raj may require the services of the troops of the king, the sum to be paid for that shall be adjudged according to a special assessment in the light of the time of service; and the honourable East India Company shall pay such assessed sum to the Khalsa Raj, when the conditions of this agreement are fully adhered to; such a payment shall be paid annually.

SIXTEENTH CLAUSE.

The territory, which is now in the possession of the Mirs of Sindh, and its dependencies; together with all revenues and payments to be made now or in the future by them to the king; shall no longer have any relationship with the king, and the claim upon those territories and revenues; nor would his descendents, or any of the persons of the Sadozai family shall ever have any claim upon the revenues aforementioned, or upon the territories. The Mirs of Sindh thenceforth shall be the owners of their land, provided the Mirs of Sindh pay thirty lakhs of Nanak shahi ruppes or ordinary rupess. Out of this sum fifteen lakhs shall be paid to the Khalsa Raj—according to the assessment of the honourable East India Company and the remaining fifteen lakhs shall be the property of the king. Should this sum be paid in full, then clause number four of this agreement shall be considered null and void- (it relates to Clause 4 of the Treaty of 12th.March 1832. A.D.) and the custom of sending presents and usual methods of friendly accord between the Mirs and the Khalsa Raj shall be established.

SEVENTE TH CLAUSE.

When Shahshuja establishes his sovereignty upon the territories of Kabul and Kandahar; he shall not interfere in any way with the rule of his nephew at Herat.

EIGHTEENTH CLAUSE.

The king Shujaudoullah and all others of his Sadozai family shall not form any relationship with any foreign people or countr without the consent of the Khalsa Raj and the Honourabl East India company; also if any foreign invasion took place against the East India company or the Khala Raj, then the king shall help, in whatever way pisossible, the two above mentioned.

That which had been laid down in this treaty is fully and without reservation acceptable to all the three contracting parties; namely the king, the East India Company and the Khalsa Raj; and the terms of this treaty shall remain permanent; and after the seal and signature of the three parties this has been so enacted. written on the 15th of the month of Har Sumbat 1895 at Lahore."

According to the various historical records, Mcnaughton, prior to this agreement had spoken of a scheme of an invasion of Afghanistan-towards Kabul - with the Sikh troops and at the head of which shall be placed Prince Timour, the son of Shah Shuja; of the entry of Shahshuja whith his troops in Afghanistan by way of Kandahar accompanied hy Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan. Shahshuja, too, made certain observations in this regard: that none of the Durrani princes shall have any claim or share in the running of his kingdom; and that he shall be permitted to wage war in all directions, such as Kabul, Kandahar, Bulkh, Seistan and Bluchistan and Shikarpore. That the dependencies of Kandahar and Shikarpore shall be under his rule.

After the English troops leave Kabul, one of ths English representatives should remain at Kabul; as also that some English officers should be given to him for the training of troops in Afghanistan; that two lakhs of rupees which he had undertaken to give to the Sikhs would be considered as a kind of tribute, and his sovereignty thereby shall be in question; therefore, he was prepared to renounce his ownership of Shikarpore in payment thereof.

These were the stipulations, which were made by Shah Shuja on the basis of the Treaty. From an analysis of this, it would appear that whereas the deposed and the refugee king which he was, although dependent upon the support of the English and the Sikhs and knowing fully well that his success depended upon their help; he was yet desirous to protect his kingdom upon a higher and greater orbit; but unfortunately, his co-operators - especially the English - were not such from whom he could receive any benefit in this direction; so that in virtue of this Unfortunate Treaty, both the Sikhs and the English took magnificient advantage.

HOW THE GATEWAY OF THE GHAZNI CITADEL WAS BLOWN UP.

ARTICLE TWENTY EIGTH

On the morning of 23rd. July 1821. A.D., when the sun had not yet arisen fully, the walled city of Ghazni was shaken by an explosion. The English had been busy the whole night digging a tunnel and blew up the Kabul gate of the city.

Also they made a great breach in the walls, so that the city surrendered without expectation to the enemy within three-quarters of an hour. It was thought that this was effected through the bravery of their troops, but the strength of a treasury is greater than the strength and power of gun - powder.

* * *

The first aggression of the English, which took place with the connivance and help of Shahshuja Sadnzi, is a fact regarding which several articles had been written in these series on several aspects of the case.

In this article, we desire to speak as to how unexpectedly the surrender of Ghazni took place at the hands of the English.

The British troops which were moving by way of the Bolan Pass and Khojak with Shahshuja, were put under the command of an English officer by the name of Sir John Kean. From the date of the movement of this force (10th. December 1838. A. D.) from Firouzpore, till it reached Kandahar on the 8th. of May 1839. A.D., and Ghazni on the 21st. of July 1839. A.D. With that which befell the expendition, we do not concern ourselves here.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the legal occupant the Afghan throne, Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was ruling the country at the time, and the Government of Ghazni then was Placed under one of his sons, Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan.

As far as can be judged from historical records, Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, both during his rulership as also prior to it, attached great importance to the defences of Ghazni; so that when he ultimately became the king of Afghanistan, he appointed one of his real brothers, Sirdar Amir Mohamed Khan, as Governor of Ghazni. In

any case when the news of the approaching English forces with Shahshuja reached Kabul, the King sent a good deal of rations and armaments to Ghazni.

The plan which Amir Dost Mohamed Khan had worked out against the English aggression was this that, the English forces should be detained for a time in the neighbourhood of Ghazni; so that Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan, strengthened by a large garrison, should defend the city, and Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan at the head of a cavalry composed of three thousand horsemen should harass the invaders outside the city. These arrangements having been made at Kabul, the plan was launched. On the other, hand the Ghilzis of the neighbourhood were to hold the region between Ghazni and Mokor against the enemy. It was thought that the invading troops could be destroyed either between Mokor and Ghazni, or by the attacks of his sons in Ghazni or at Wardak. Much attention was lavished upon this sceme, but unfortunately treachery reared its head, so that Ghazni and its defences could not survive the attack for longer than three quarters of an hour, as a result of which the whole plan was brought to nothing.

When the English forces reached Kalat Ghilzai in 4th of July 1839. A.D. Mcnaughton halted there for a time, in order to subdue the Ghilzais, while Lord Kean with Shahshuja marched on to Mokor and Ghazni. Mohan Lal, author of the life of Amir Dost Mahamed Khan, who had cultivated a friendship with all the big Sirdars and nobles of the time, secured the secret plans of the English commanders, that amongst those who were not very friendly with Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, was one named Sirdar Abdur Rashid Khan, who was a relative of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, who was then living at Ghazni. He atonce sent a letter, but although the messenger was captured and was beheaded by the order of Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan, the governor and defender of Ghazni, he had done his work previously, and the letter had actually been received by the enemy. Abdur Rashid Khan was very pleased that his letter had been received and that he was invited to go to the English camp. He dressed in the garb of a begger, and gave him a sword; which appeared

that this man would kill any one who comes within range ; and this man was also the bearer of a letter in which Sirdar Abdur Rashid Khan had indicated his desire to come. This letter fell in the hands of Mohan Lal.

When Abdur Rashid Khan eacaped from the gateway of Ghazni and met his friends, Mohan Lal introduced him to Maughnaton ; who placed him directly under the orders of Lord Kein : so that the information which Abdur Rashid Khan gave about the defences of Ghazni to the military engineer of the English forces one named Major Thomson contributed to the blowing up of the gateway of Ghazni and the breaking up of the national defences of that city.

The English arrived opposite the citadel of Ghazni on 21st July 1839. A. D. and moved up their forces towards the Kabul Gate leading to Kabul, so that all communication between Kabul and Ghazni could be cut.

The fact is that as soon as the English forces were sighted near Ghazni, the guns of the Ghazni defences began to fire on the enemy ; and Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan was prepared to defend the city to the last . The army together with the people of the town were ever ready to stand by and defend their town with bravery and persistence. The wea kness that was apparent in Amir Dost Mohamed Khan's defence plan, was the rivalry that existed between his two sons - namely Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan and Sirdar Ghulan Haider Khan. Under he plan Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan was to defend the city from outside, while the last named was to secure the inner defences, At one point, the sensitive brother desired to enter the city, so that both of the brothers could defend the city together. This request created a delicate position, with the result that Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan left the city to its own devices.

But this in itself was not a matter of great significance, for it was possible that Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan could continue to hold the town, and the English troops could have been annihilated

by the troops of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan's sons between Muqar and Ghazni.

When the English arrived at Ghazni, contrary to their previous information they found that the defence walls of the city and its turrets were much stronger than reported. As Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan had detached himself and his troops from the precints of the city, the English found a good opportunity to study the defences of the city. Furthermore, as the result of more minute information of Abdur Rashid Khan, the English burrowed a tunnel under the Kabul gate of Ghazni, and at about 3. A. M. on 23rd. July 1839 blew up the gateway, not through fighting or valour, but through treachery of a person who had been depraved by the wiles of the enemy. The defenders, who hardly thought of this, did fight gallantly round the walls of the citadel, but all was lost, and further resistance had no meaning. Although the slain bodies of the defenders lay in heaps opposite the Kabul Gateway, the enemy forces entered the city, and when the English banner was hoisted over the Bala Hissar, Lord Kean, the Commander-in-Chief of the English forces led Shah Shuja, and Mcnaughton into the city.

It was in this manner that the special friendship of a person belonging to the country, with one of the servants of the English, and his revealing of the plans, destroyed all the hopes and a spirations of the country and the people at a very critical juncture.

It is possible that the traitor may not have fathomed the depth of his treachery, but history records the magnitude of cowardice and unforgivable sin it was which caused a series of perils for the country.

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THE BATTLE OF SPEAR & THE SHIELD.

ARTICLE TWENTY NINTH

From the 21st. to 24th of July 1839. A.D. certain events occurred inside the citadel of Ghazni., which may be said to belong to the realms of fancy and dreams. We consider these as such, because no Afghan and no English soldier could dream that Ghazni could be taken with ease and so soon. But as traitorous hands were at work, events turned out in a different shape, and the

city passed from one hand to another within twentyfour hours. Although the gateway of the city was blown up, in the corridors of the gateway great scenes of resistence were enacted. For when the Afghan fighters gallantly defended themselves against the lances of the enemy with a shield, they used their swords against the aggressors.

* * *

In article twentyeigth under the title of "HOW THE GATEWAY OF GHAZNI WAS BLOWN UP" we had spoken of the regrettable incident of Ghazni on account of the treachery of Sirdar Abdur Rashid Khan, one of the relatives of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan. In this article we wish to give certain other particulars, which English sources have also mentioned. Much of these facts are from the writings of Neville Chamberlain, which give 44 years of military history of India.

The author was a young cavalry officer during the First Afghan War, who ultimately became a Field Marshall.

"On 21st. July 1839 the English forces under General Kean and accompanied by Shah Shuja arrived within 12 miles of the city of Ghazni. On the morning of that day, one Sirdar Abdur Rashid Khan, a cousin of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan accompanied by thirty of his followers reached the English camp. The Afghan and the English historians call this man a traitor, and the same designation can be used about his companions. They gave the news that Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan, the son of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan will attack that very night with three thousand soldiers; besides this the English were told the gateways of Ghazni had been made fast with stones and mortar, and the only gateway, which is accessible is the Kabul gateway, which is also used for ingress and egress. That night the English soldiers did not sleep, expecting attack; and stayed ready in their tents, awaiting the onslaught of the defenders of Ghazni. But the night attack did not come off.

Quite early in the morning, the English moved nearer the citadel of Ghazni; and the troops were led by the traitor Sirdar Abdur Rashid Khan and Alexander Burnes. Near the city the English were attacked by the defenders of the town from their hiding places in the orchards of the city, and when the invaders were within range of fire, big guns of the town opened at them. The first engagement which took place between the English and the Afghans was in the orchards of the city, especially in one such orchard which was about 180 yards long and about forty feet wide very severe fighting took place. From the walls of the citadel, which were about thirty to forty feet high, the defenders opened fire with their tinder-fired guns. Mr: Chamberlain, recording the event, says that when the Afghans saw that the firing of the English did not reach them, they came up the parapets of walls and waved their flags, and a group even came up to a distance of only thirty yards.

When they arrived so near, Chamberlain says that he intimated the fact to Captain Graves. There They come: The captain ordered his company to fire, but both fires met, the Afghan warriors had become so excited by coming so near to their enemies that they gave no heed to death, and although they fell one after the other as a result of the enemy's fire they continued to push forward,and in this engagement Captain Graves received two severe wounds, and Cha mberlain was compelled to retire his company, and to take their wounded commander on a stretcher to the center of their troops.

After this sharp and short engagement, the English force moved towards the walls of the city of Ghazni,and surrounded the walls at a distance, where the Afghan fire could not reach them, and skirting north-west they errived near the Kabul gate of the city.

According to the English records, their troops had no rations beyond three days, and the strong resistance of the defenders was likely to upset the attacker's plans till Captain Thomson,the head-engineer, suggested to the commander of the force named Kelvin,that the best plan under the circumstances was to blow up the Kabul gate, and this suggestion was readily agreed to. Towards the fore-

nonn of 22nd.July, many Afghan warriors gathered from the nearby villages around the hillsides that surrounded the encampments of the English, and mercilessly harassed the English invaders of Ghazni. Several engagements took place between the Afghan warriors and the English scouts. An account of Captain Forrest says that the Afghans at that time used their citadel gun (a fortyeight—pounder). Towards the evening, however, Mr. Maryian Durrand and Captain Pitt covered by their infantrymen, and taking cover of the brick-walls of the orchards managed to get as close to the city walls as 150 meters,and in the waning light of the moon, they came very close to the Kabul gate where the Sappers and Miners laid 900 pounds of gunpowder in twelve bags near the Kabul gate of Ghazni. At 3.A.M. of 23rd July, the night wind had not abated, and darkness hung round still over the wall of the citadel; the inhabitants were still asleep, and the guards still awaited the English attack upon the city, when all of a sudden, the terrific sound of an explosion shook the air, and the Kabul gate was blown up. With it, too, went up in the air certain other parts of the wall. Inside the gateway ran a corridor-some 150 yards long and rather narrow-about 20. yards wide, in the center of which was a yard. According to Mr. Chamberlain's records, in addition to the English regiment, there were the regiment number two of the Bengal Europeans, as also the Indian units of 13-7; 35- 16 and the 48th; which took part in the attack. Between 3. and 4. A. M. in the darkness and in that narrow passage, a sanguinary battle took place between the defenders and the attackers. The attcaking force charged with fixed bayonets and the Afghan warriors meeting the attackers'weapons with their shields, used their swords against the English invaders. The battle raged for a time in that corridor, and beyond the clashing of arms, none could see the other in the darkness. When the defenders saw that bayonet could not be fought against the sword in a restricted space, they dispersed into the open inside the city. From every house, from each corner of the street, in the narrow passages-battles raged fiercely, and fire was poured upon the attackers from the roof tops, Chamberlain says that each house was like an armed citadel. The determined Afghan warriors fought to the last man.

The morning of 23rd. July found Ghazni in pools of blood, and inside the city hell was let loose, for from every housetop fire rained upon the attackers; every street coner was the danger signal; every turn of the narrow passage was a battle field. Whatever booty was secured was heaped along the Kabul gate along the mounds of the slain Afghan warriors; whosever entered a house for loot, did not emerge alive from that house; both inside and outside neither party could keep any control, pandemonium reigned everywhere. The above mentioned narrator adds that about one thounsand and five hundred riderless horses galloped about, and even fought amongst themselves. To step into the street was to court positive death. The English writer, who took part in the battle says that he had seen so much cruelty, and disregard for human life that he disliked human behaviour, and that he abhorerd humanity itself. Ghulam Haider Khan, the son of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan-a young man of twentytwo years of age-the governor and defender of the city was taken prisoner with his six companions by Captain Taylor.

On the 24th of July the dead were buried, and two hundred wounded and dead horses, too, were put under the sod. In the afternoon the silence of death reigned supreme in the fair city of Ghazni, doors were torn off their hinges, houses were demolished, the streets were deserted, and it looked that it was not a city of the living. Upon this silence sat the bloody regime of Shahshuja under the banner and protection of the English, and from one of the towers of the citadel flurted the ensign ef the invaders.

* * *

THE VICTORY OF GHAZNI.

(An extract of a passage from TUHFATUL HABIB. Vol,2-page 168.)

" . . . . Shahshuja after the lapse of three months and settling the Kandahar affairs and of its environs entrusted the region to an Englishman named Leech and the Prince Fateh Jung, and accompanied by other English officers started on an expedition

towards Ghazni and Kabul. and encamped under the walls and turrets of Ghazni. Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan, as the governor and defender of Ghazni - deputed as he was from his father Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, provided with all weapons of defence, prepared to defend the city. The English, however, attacking the northern gate of Ghazni set alight the gateway of Bahlol, captured the city, and took Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan prisoner, and placed him under the serveillance of Yaqut Khan. The Great Amir hearing of these events called one Nawab Jabbar Khan - one of his brothers - and asked him to go to Ghazni on the pretext of enquiring about the wife and children of the captured Afghan defender of the city and to see as to what he could find and to collect what information he could, so that something might be done about the events that were to develop as a result of the fall of Ghazni. Nawab Jabbar Khan started on his way to Ghazni, pretending that he was the host of one Alexander Burnes whom he had helped on many occasions, and to try to have Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan released and to bring him along with him to Kabul. Upon his arrival at Ghazni, he started parleys with the English, and after much discussion , the English terms were made known to Sirdar Jabbar Khan, to the effect that either the Amir should renounce his throne of Kabul and go to India as a pensioner of the British government and receive one lakh of ruppees annually ; or to fight on and let the best man win the battle.

* * *

SECOND NOVEMBER OF 1841.

ARTICLE THIRTIETH

In the historical life of the people of Afghanistan, the days of victory and defeat, days of gloom and of happiness, times of greatness and of decline are intermixed, which ought to be studied with their respective colour and effect of those times,so that the nation may observe some of those of the days of its life when it was under a cloud. The date of Second of November, 1841. A.D. (18th. Ramazan 1257. A.H.) was a day of determination, of steadfastness, of great stress and national up-rising.

The movement that reared its head on the second of November 1841. A. D, on the part of a few in the city of Kabul, and which infousd a national feeling of up-rising, has no parallel in the annals of Afghanistan in regard to the determination and steadfastness of national cause. In as much as it was a movement which gave a remarkable national urge, and inspiration, it should always be recalled to minds.

Time was when one hundred and eleven years ago, in this Country oppression and coercion had been the vogue in Afghanistan at the hands of Mcnaughton, Shahshuja and Burnes. From Shairpore to Balahissar, there were "ruins" upon which cruel hands operated. The English forces held the points such as Siah Sung, the cantonment of Shairpore and in other parts of the city, and another group, named as the artillery troops of Shahshuja was stationed at Bala Hisar. Nizamud-Doullah, the traitor, was a man who worked as a liaison between Shahshuja and Mnaughton, and, of course, this man's soul had been so deadend that he thought of nothing but his own interests, and in that quest if the nation was subjected to disgrace and ruin, it would. have mattered, nothing to him. This year, 1841, was the third year of the reign of Shahshuja, and this date should be considered as the third year of the disgrace and decline of the life of the nation at the hands of the aggressors-the English. Those, who had reared the nefarious designs of treachery towards their nation, were, of course, well content with their ill-gotten proceeds. Conditions were, however, deteriorating ; for instance ; the land revenue was being re-assessed and at extortionate rates forced military service , the apportioning of salaries to the Ghilzai leaders, the excesses of the troopers, and the deporting of influencial leaders of the people to India, coupled with, lack of respect for the rights of the individual absence of security and much else which contributes to the discord and a state of lawlessness was let loose amongst the people of this country, and in these unbearable circumstances, the nation was making preparations to rend asunder these chains of suppression and cruelty of the foreigners and their protege-Shahshuja-at the earliest possible moment.

As everyone knows , a few people whose names adorn the pages of our national history,possessing feelings of love and esteem for

their country, for the first time assembled at the house of Abdullah Khan Achakzai. There they laid down the foundation of the release ot their country from cruel hands which were squeezing out the very life blood of the nation. On the morning of second november 1841. A.D. when the sun had hardly arisen, four of these lovers of their country named Abdullah Khan Achakzai, Aminullah Khan Logari, Sikandar Khan and Abdus Salam Khan called upon the people around them and marched on the garden and the house of Alexander Burnes.

Burne wanteds to pacify them by sending out to them a messenger on his behalf, but Sikandar Khan wanted to cut Burnes head off, so that not a single word should come out of the tyrant's mouth. Burnes came on the roof of his house and wished to bribe the mob with money, but as that could not satisfy the people impassioned by the national urge, Burnes ordered that the people should be fired up on. Fir ing from both sides caused causualties amongst the contestants. One of the Englishmen who fell on that occasion was a Captain Broad Foot after him fell Burnes brother named Charles Burnes. The Afghans thereafter entered Burnes house, set his house alight and cut Burnes into pieces. The fire of the house was seen from Bala Hisar by Shah shuja, Mcnaughton and Elphinstone Not only was it visible from the Balahisar but it could also be seen from Siah Sung and Shairpore; and none were able to put it out. Burnes had a great expectation of help from Bala Hi sar. Captain Campbell did, in effect start out to help with a company of troops, but the people hindered their progress with the result that all the arms and the ammunition of the rescue party fell into the hands of the Afghan nationalists. when the sun was setting upon the hights Bala Hi sar, and the English looked on anxiously from the emiuence of Balahi sar, upon a city whose heart was captured by the people of the country. The wrath of Bala Hisar and of Shairpore was of course, at its highest. The manifestation of this wrath and anxiety were complementary to each other, and the result of this mani festation was that compelled the foreigners to desert the country of the Afghans along with those who loved the foreigners more than their own country.

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THE INSTIGATOR : THE HERO: THE VICTOR : AND THE MARTYR.

ARTICLE THIRTY FIRST

In the course of the history of our country, at the time of national crisis and of danger, when the very life of the nation was in jeopardy; great heros and benifactors have risen to redeem the honour of their country by their great deeds of valour, so that by dint of their bravs actions , the disintegrated fibres had been put together, which proves that in the mental make-up of our people determination for national regeneration and a spirit of striving persists, which durins most of the turns and twists of Afghan history have guarded our national well-being and cohesion, and have brought matters to our national success and prosperity.

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One of the weeknesses of history and of historians, which can not be easily remedied is the dealing of those periods of history which are dark and facts do not illuminate the passage of time in them. One has, therefore. to wait for light to penetrate and to give us a glimpse of those events which had transpired. Much, however. continues to remain obscure.

In any case, the lifting of curtain from those darker regions of history are being progressively lifted by the researches of historians. This is becoming eirdent in certain respects when a historian possessing a general knowledge of history, suppresses certain facts according to his own prejudices or inclinations and coalesces them into a pattern of his own, leaving some of the passages in the dark and switching light upon others.There are those passages which resist illumination entirely, and which can be made known only by diligent researche, but some on the other hand, continue to remain unknown and a matter of pure conjecture and uncertainty.

In our article entitled The Second of November, we had mentioned facts, from printed records, about the uprising of a ourgp of nationalist, their attack upon Burnes his (burn's) being

killed at the hands of the patriots, the reaction from Shairpore and Bala Hisar, and Abdullah Khan Achakzis, battle and his being wounded and ultimate martyrdom ; yet fuller details are still obscure regarding his military progress, the real events culminating, in his death his a tion's real appraisal from the point of view of national urge and significance. If Abdullah Khan Achakzi is not the only warrior of that arena , he is most decidedly the bravest of those who prepared the nation for its release from foreign yoke, and the one who prompted the peole of his country into awareness of national independence, so that his name should be placed upon the records of all those national movements for the regeneration of the Afghans which Afghanistan saw during her struggles for independence, and that his name should be one of the first ones on the rolls.

Abdullah Khan Achakzai is the first man who led the national monvement on the second of November in 1841. A. D. It was he also arranged the meeting at his house, where through his persuation and goading that the nation realised her position under the thraldom of the English and Shahshuja. and it was through his efforts, and by his power of language and personal example that led his countrymen to rise and claim that which belonged to Afghanistan. Inspite of the fact that he had no more than three companions, they proceeded to the house of Alexander Burnes, and after that fall of the Englishmen, from the second November till the IIth November 1841 A.D. (17th to 27th of Ramazan 1257. A.H.) he led the national movement. He and his companions had no fear of the gun and the rifle , so that as an officer of the national forces, as a commander of the peoples' forces and as a national hero he battled with the mighty forces of Shairpore and of the guns of the enemy every where, so that on the eleventh of November his causin fell to the bullet of the enemies of the Afghans, and he himself was wounded during the advance . But he had vindicated the honour of his people, for those plans which only ten days ago were evolved in the privacy of his rooms, were made effective by the sound and the use of gun and rifle. His words were not empty words. They had a meaning, action was born from them, as the result of which he was wounded and lay in his bed and finally died and received the highest honour of martyrdom. But not till he had carried forward the idea and view point of the patriotism of

Afghans to a pass and point from where the people could see the rising star of the birth of their independence. By a happy coincidence when Abdullah Khan Achakzai fell moratally wounded, Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan, the gallant son of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan-who was at Bokhara for a long time-reached Kabul and took up the task of the national liberation, leading the people to waids new Vistas, with revived spirits for the national cause, which brought out the hidden qualities and urges of the people to the fore.

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THE ABANDONING OF SHAIRPORE.
6th. January 1842.A.D,

ARICLE ; THIRTY SECONDTH

From the 7th of August 1839. A.D. to 6th of January 1842.A.D, for a period of about two and a half years, the English forces stayed at Kabul. They were supposed to be there in order to help Shahshuja : Their camp during that"un-invited"stay was situated at a "fort" rectangular in shape which was styled the Cantonement or Chawani. This place was outaide the city on the northern outskirts towards the eastern roadway which ran straight from the capital to a small village known as the village of Bibi Maro and connected it with the city. After the reign of Amir Shair Ali Khan, when a suburb was named Shairpore on the south-west of the village of Bibi Maro, and the area was made a military base, this locality during the Second Afghan War was very well known as Shair Pore. In view of the fact that according to the name and fame that Shairpore had acquired due to its military significance and warfare durins the aggressive wars of the English, and the part that this region had played in that struggle, and furthermore to the fact that during our first struggle against the English invasion it had not assumed any foreign importance, therefore nistead of styling this chapter as"Chawani",we have named it " Shairpore " thus the heading of the chapter has been put as the "Abandoning of Shairpore".

The arrival of the winter season, and the settling of the cold weather and the fall of snow in Kabul and upon the surrounding hills, bring to minds those scenes of history which cannot be effaced from the memories of the people. It is this that inucdes one to pen an article in this series about an event which happened on 6th. January 1842.A,D. (22nd. Zulqadah 1257.A.H.) in the city of Kabul, and that event is none other than the evacnation of the capital city of Kabul by the English.

On 7th August 1839 A.D. when a certain degree of agitation and manifestation of dis-satisafaction was apparent among the people of Kabul, headed by the trumpet call and the military band , two English officers- Mcnaughton and Sir John Kean--accompanied by Shah Shuja went round the streets of the city proclaiming the ascending upon the throne of Shahshuja at Kabul. This was an event ,whic happened twentytwo years afrer that discredited king had , been exiled from Afghanistan. This was a crowning of this puppet only in name,for in actual fact the real rulers of the country were, of course, the English.

The 7th. of August was the Dark Day for this country, when the foreign troops of an aggressor entering the mountain kingdom of Afghanistan, and repulsing our defending forces from the Indus basin and Bluchistan to Kandahar and Grishk, Muqar, Ghazni and Arghandab as the helpers of Shahshuja; occupied our country. Thousand of innocent person had been killed before they reached Kabul and established their military base at Shairpore. After that date upto 6th. January 1842. A. D.-for two and a half years events which had not been hidden from the eyes of the Afghan people, happened and the leaders of the people did not desist in striving to release their nation from the bondage of the aggressors, so that Burnes and Mcnaughton, were both sacrificed on their altar of aggression, and their survivors had to sign the avacuatron documents on the 6th. of January 1842. A. D. and to vacate Shairpore.

As it was the beginning of the winter Season when snow lay so deep that even men of great age had not seen the like of it for

many years in Kabul, and localities such as the turning and twisting hills around Kabul, the mountains of Shair Darwaza, the Asmai and the hillsides of Marunjan, and regions of Bibi Maro lay white under the mantle of snow. And when in Shairpore itself, no less than six inches of snow had fallen, and frozen snow could only be detached from the hooves by means of hammers, the people turned out to see the mighty evacuation of the English forces from Kabul from such distant places as from the Suburbs of Kabul, Chahar Deh, Logar, Kohistan, Koh and Daman. Their numbers could not be less than ten thousand persons, which included even children. The route upon which the English forces were to leave Kabul was thick with spectators: they had lined the way across the Pul Mustan, past the Darwaza Shah Shaheed and Bala Hisar, to the village of Bibi Maro, whilst the patriots of Afghanistan were herding the aggressors out at Shair-pore itself.

According to the account written by a contemporary historian, Sir Percy Sykes in his history of Afghanistan, we read as follows: "..... after two months of disgraceful delay, which has no parallel in British military history, men who had lost all spirit were ready to vacate the city . . ."

At nine in the morning General Elphinstone with whose name the troops were designated, first emerged from the fort, followed by artillery, cavalry, foot soldiers, followers and others, all about 17,500 men with several thousand transport animals, making a long line. They moved on from Shairpore to the Kabul river, and passed over a temporary bridge-built for that occasion, near the bridge of Mahmud Khan, and the moving out of this sorry force was hailed by the fire of the Afghan warriors as a mark of happiness and satisfaction. The Elphinstone Force, as it was called, or again as it was justly termed the "Hordes Of Imperialism" moving with tremendous slowness, at last reached a point near Bala Hisar, Here throngs ofthe inhabitants (even women and children wanted to see the retreating force of the English) from Siah Sung to Bala Hisar increased, so that the English force was passing through the people of Afghanistan.

So vast was the retreating line. that when the head of the retreating force reached Khurd Kabul (about six miles out) the rear was still at the fort. The vacated parts, were set alight by the Afghan warriors, as a gesture of "cleaning it" and purifying it from its unclean atmosphere. The areas thus ses on fire ejected smoke which rose in rings over the retreating force of the English, floating over the tops of mountain snows of the neighbourhood.

The sun was going down slowly, and Shahshuja was greatly disappointed for the absence of his supporters, while in the city people rejoiced in their houses till late in the night. The Chawni of the English was in flames, the clamu· of Afghan warriors were now growing less and less, but the retreating caravan had not as yet arrived at its destination.

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BADIA BAD

ARTICLE THIRTY THIRD

A small number of English hostages, in which were included some Generals and other military officers, as also some women and children were detained for three mon'hs-three months in the beginning of the year 1842. A.D.-at the fort of Badia Bad. Inspite of the fact that the English went back upon their promise as undertaken at Kabul, and instead of vacating Jalalabad, as was undertaken by the English, they (the English) seemed to have implanted themselves at Jalalabad, and made that area their military base, Sirdar Mohamed Akbar khan continued to treat his hostages with consideration, a fact which is acknowledged even by the English writers in their histories, and which proves the greatness of that great leader of his nation Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khaan.

Clause No: 3 in the Treaty which was signed between the Afghan Sirdars and the representatives of the English in the month of Zulqada 1257. A.H. Pottinger promised that since the evacuation of the English troops had been undertaken by the English, it was undertaken that prior to the reaching of the English troops at Jalalabad, the English must evacuate Jalalaba forces, too, from that city

Indiawards. Clause number ten of this Treaty, too, had undertaken that the English would leave military officers as hostages at Kabul, till the matter of the return of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan and his relatives from India to Afghanistan could be settled at Peshawar. In accordance to this latter clause, the English left seven of their officers at Kabul, namely Durrand, Walsh, Warburton, Webb, Conolly, Avery and Anderson. These hostages were detained in the house of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan.

When the English troops left Kobul, and the Jalalabad contingent did not move out according to the treaty, Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan, who was moving behind the English retreating lines-for the protection of the English-noticing the departure from their written-pledge, drew the attention of the English officers to this fact. But unfortunately no practical steps were taken by the English. The English intention seemed to be that the two contingents-one from Kabul and the one at Jalalabad-should be united, while persistent reports showed that General Sale's column was being strengthened at Jalalabad. The lack of fulfilment of the English promise, and the danger which lurked behind it, compelled Sirdar Mohamed Akber Khan to detain the English forces on their way to Jalalabad in the depth of winter. More hostages also were demanded from them because no action had been taken by the Jalalabad column to move out of that city prior to the arrival of the Elphinstone force from Kabul. On one occasion, three officers, and on the second occasion they had to give seven military officers, ten women and twentytwo children as hostages. The reason for giving women and children as hostages was that as such they could be protected by the hospitality of the Sirder and would thus escape the rigour of winter and camping difficulties in the snow. Amongst these women Lady Mcnaughton the widow of the dead Mcnaughton and Lady Sale, the wife of the English commander at Jalalabad, were also included. In the ranks of the high military officers were General Elphinstone, General Aiyer and Pottinger were included, the last named being the signitory of the Treaty under review.

When at last it was quite apparent that General Sale had no intention of moving out of Jalallabad, and was determined to fight it

out, the people resolved that the tow forces shall not be permitted to join hands, and thus prevented such a meeting of the two sections of the English forces. Near the city, Sirdar Mohemad Akbar Khan turned towards Lughman, and taking the hestages with him he had them detained in the house of Mohamed Shah Khan ababakr Khail at a place called. Badia Bad. Mohamed Shah Khan was the travelling companion of the Sirdar at the time.

Everyone knows that events moved fast in that period of history, each of which requires an article unto itself, such as the arriving of a large English force under the command of General Pollock at Jalalabad. the discord of leaders at Kabul, the going back of the Afghan national forces to Kabul, and the removal of the hostages to Bamyan. Here we can hardly go into these points, but will briefly study the position of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan at Badia Bad and his treatment of his hostages and others durinrg that period.

Badia Bad had a fort, with high walls about 25 meters, high and a moat surrounded it. The hostages were detained at that place during the three months when General Sale and the town of Jalalbad was under seige. The life lived by these hostages had no similiarity with any prison restrictions. On the contrary, hospitality to the utmost degree a noted trait of the Afghans - was shown them.

The English themselves write that these hostages thought that they would certainly be killed, but they slowly realised that they were really alive and that they were eating their food with Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan.

They were permitted to communicate with their relatives at Jalalabad, and indeed, they used to go to see their friends and the General in the city itself. And the wonder of all wonders was that they themselves used to return to Badia Bad. Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan treated his hostages with great courtesy and consideration, especially the wounded men. On the way to Jalalabad, when they brought a wounded man, one named Melville, he himself (the Sirdar)

Wazir Yar Mohamad Khan.

Sardar Mohamad Akbar Khan.

bound the wound and bandaged the wounded man's leg and was most kind to him. On the way where-ever the hostages had to cross a stream, he was most anxious that they should cross with safety. According to the writing of the English writers themselves, he used to play, sitting on the earth, with the English children. He treated the women hostages with great kindness and courtesy. Also with the officers his treatment was of utmost courtesy and consideration. A letter which had been written regarding the restitution of a daughter of one Anderson is being reproduced here. This letter was in relation to that very man-Anderson-who was taken as one of the hostages at Kabul, and which had been reproduced in one of the numbers of Aryana Magazine and in other publications. The text is as follows:

". . . . . With the usual titles to the Representative . . . . .

Regarding the daughter of Anderson, who had fallen into the hands of the honourable Mohamed Omar Khan son of the honourable Mir Ahmed Khan; and in consequence her relatives are greatly distressed on her account. As written before, it is now being repeated that it is most imperative that the daughter of Anderson accompanied by trust worthy men should be sent here, which is as it should be, otherwise it shall be an act of deep omission. You, with the Grace of God are wise and of much discernment, so that all endeavours be made to recover this daughter of Anderson and to have her sent with utmost comfort and despatch. News of that region may also be sent, but this matter of Anderson's daughter must be attended to without delay, and no disrigard should be allowed about it . . . . . as the matter is an imperative one. May your days be full of success with the help and command of the Ever Lasting God".

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ISTALIF IN THE LEAPING FIRE.

ARTICLE: THIRTY FOURTH

The warriors of Kohistan and Kohdaman had taken a conspicous share in the battles of the First Afghan War, which burst upon us in the month of November 1841. A. D. at Kabul and at Charikar, and the part played by those gallant fighting men can

not be forgotten. The warriors killed. on the outburst of that war, and during the ultimate settlement, some of the run-away and fleeing officers of the English between Kabul and Gharikar. After that large numbers of them took part in battles-many thousands of them-at Shairpore. and on the hights of Bibi Maro. General Pollock, in order to take revenge from those men, set fire to the beautiful village of Istalif through Mecastle in 1842. A. D. In place of avenging himself upon the fighters, he burned down the innocent walls and doors of a village.

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Towards the fourth year of the English occupation of Afghanistan a great movement for national independence was launched on 2nd November 1841. A. D. which fought the imperialist designs of the aggressors. From that date onwards the great movement grew in tempo, with the result that fighting took place at such scattered places as the hillside of Bibi Maro , Shairore, in the heart of the city of Kabul, in the neighbourhood of Charikar, Wardak, Khurd Kabul and Ghazni, till at last a treaty was signed between the leaders of the nation and the English in the winter of 1842. A. D. and the capital of the Afghan kingdom was evacuated. Unfortunately, as was anticipated in the terms of the treaty, the whole of Afghanistan was not evacuated with the removal of the English forces from Kabul. At two important Afghan towns, Jalalabad and Kandahar the forces of the English continued under Generals Sale and Nott. They gave verbal promises and still continued to make endeavours to strengthen their military position as soon as a relief force arrived from India to help them. During the course of this time, Shahshuja was assassinated and his son Fateh Jung sat on the throne at Bala Hisar. But the hope of getting the throne for themselves, and the struggle for personal gain that had entered into the minds of many leaders at the time, began to weaken the national resistance, and the action which had sprung up with such good promise and hope, and had expressed itself for the benefit of the country, began to deteriorate with the result that disturbances arose, that the beseiged English

forces at Jalalabad and at Kandahar taking heart drove off our forces actually from the walls of the citadels. Not only this, they made further thrusts at Khurd Kabul and Tayzeen. There is no doubt, of course, that in this progress of English aggression, the arrival of a large English force under General Pollock from India was in a manner a positive element, but pages of history bear witness to the fact that prior to the crossing of the Khyber Pass by the Pollock force, the troops under General Sale at Jalalabad, who were beseiged for a time, did in effect manage to drive our forces away and to force Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan to beat a retreat to Kabul. Some have indicated that these reverses were not reverses, as such, but merely a matter of military tactics undertaken at the advice of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan. At any rate. General Sale and General Pollock mutually strengthened, and finding Prince Fateh Jung still available, forced their way through to Kabul once again, and on the morning of 16th. September 1842. A. D. arrived at Bala Hissar. On that unfortunate day, once again the English standard was unfurled on the turrets of Bala Hisar with the rejoinings of the English and the boom of big guns.

The very first order which was issued by General Pollok upon arrival in Kabul was given to Maccastle to proceed towards Kohdaman and Kohistan in order to crush the resistance of the national fighters in that region. Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan was riding with the English officers towards Bamyan from Ghorbund, and Aminullah Khan Logari, who had been depended upon to help the foreigners and prince Fateh Jung agains Sirdar Mohamed Zaman Khan, was now actually resisting the English. When the English stigmatised any person as their enemy, he was so regarded by them to the end of time. The English forces contiued to advance helped by their big guns, and superior armaments, and the fire of the patriots used to recede further and further into the fastnesses of their highland homes as the aggressor advanced on and onwards into their territory beyond Istalif. Not long afterwards, however, those who had been driven out, saw smoke rise from the high hills of Istalif; and the leaves of the trees of beautiful Istalif with all the orchards and buildings were burnt

down at the hands of the aggressive troops of the English. Thus was burnt down the beautiful Istalif, the home of the patriots amidst the mountains of Kohdaman. But the patriots and their leaders Nayab Aminullah Khan Logari did not surrender, and proved that his foresight ofr the benefit of the nation and the opposition towards the invaders had nothing to do with any shifting temper, time serving, or personal motives.

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F A T E H J U N G.

(The king of Bala. Hisar.:)

ARTICLE THIRTY FIFTH

Amongst the many princes, who had sat on the throne at Bala Hisar, one was Fateh Jung, the son of Shah Shuja, the Sadozai. He ascended the throne after a few days of the assassination of his father. But during the short period of six months during which he considered himself king, his writ hardly ran beyond the fortress of Bala Hisar. Beyond the walls of Bala Hisar and its turrets of Yaklaghu, and Bijnaju he had no influence at all. This king one day sat upon the throne at Bala Hisar, and in that very Bala Hisar he was imprisoned, and from that citadel he escaped, and then at that very Bala Hisar he was again put on the throne by the English, and finally from that very Bala Hisar he was expelled by the wrath of the people and accompanied the English to India.

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During the summer of the year 1842 A. D. (1258 A. H. which was the fourth year of the English occupation of the country, and when the English ignored to fulfill their engagements under clauses 3rd, 4th and 5th of the Treaty of 16th. Zihij, entered into at Kabul, the position was as follows: General Nott at Kandahar and General Sale at Jalalabad had continued to hold their ground contrary to the above mentioned agreement. General Pollock was moving towards Afghanistan with a large force from India. The people at Kabul were in a very anxious plight, and especially events at Bala Hisar gave cause to great uneasiness. The position deteriorated daily.

After the evacuation of the English troops from Kabul on the 6th of January 1842.A.D. (22nd. Zeqad 1258. A.H.) during the months which followed, that is during January, Febuary and the half of March 1842. A. D, (months of Zilhij, Muharram and Safar 1258. A.H.) Nayab Aminullah Khan did his best to reconcile the two claiments to the throne, namely Shahshuja Saduzai and Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan, Barakzai, but he failed till Shahshuja was assassinated by Shujaudoullah, the son of Zaman Khan, between Shahshaheed and Siah Sung on the morning of Wednesday 15th. April 1843. A.D. (23rd . Safar 1258. A.H.) At that time there were two sons of Shahshuja at Kabul: Prince Shahpore at Bala Hisar and prince Fateh Jung at Deh Khudaidad. As a result of the conference which took place at Bala Hisar. Fateh Jung was elected as the King, and the people took oath of allegiance to Fateh Jung, with the exception of Nawab Zaman Khan and his supporters. Mir Darwaish, the head of the Kabul Divines was amongst those who did not accept Fateh Jung as the King. The opinion held by these people was that Shahshuja and his descendents were not capable to rule, because they were too much the tools of the foreigners . Without doubt. the personal interests of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan, who considered himself as the leader of the people, were the cause of this apparent non-acceptance of Fateh Jung as King. Matters reached such a pais that the new King commanded the expulsion of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan, but the noted divine Mir Darwaish intervened with Nayab Aminullah Khan, Logari. At the interview tempers rose to such an extent that the Nayab slapped the holy man's face, and the disputi in place of being matter between the king and Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan. now shifted between the holy man and the King's Minister. Aminullah Khan Logari. The report of this struggle soon spread throughout the town, and the people turned against the minister and set fire to his house, and threatened him with physical violence till he was compelled to take refuge in the Bala Hissar, and a battle between Bala Hissar and the people of Kabul started. It was the time, too, when Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan was engaged in battle against General Sale and he expected reinforcements from Kabul; whereas Kabul was now busy with its own troubles. In the beginning Fateh Jung sent out his brother to get rations for Bala Hisar,

snd when Shahpore was out on that errand a battle was precipitated between his men and those of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan, and when the prince retreated to Bala Hisar, battles continued between the men of Bala Hisar and those in the streets of Kabul. The rival parties proposed that this street fighting should cease, and that the Contention should be settled on the heights of the neighbouring Maranjan. Here the forces of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan were having the worse of it, when Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan, who having been repulsed by General Sale at Jalalabad, returned just in time at Kabul with three hundred horsemen, and as the possibilities of the return of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan from India were now brtght, together with the force of Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan repulsed the forces of Fateh Jung, and beseiged him for forty days in Bala Hisar, and in the meantime opened negotiations with Nayab Aminullah Khan. It was ultimately decided that Fateh Jung should remain King and Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan should become the Minister of the Realm, so that the title of Vizir had been affixed to Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan from that date. This continued till Fateh Jung started communicating with General Pollock, and with the order of the Vizir was imprisoned. From the prison, Fateh Jung escaped to Jalalabad and took refuge with General Sale, and Pollock started for Kabul with his column. When Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan had in the meantime gone to Bamyan, Pollock arrived in Kabul, and on the 18th. Shaban 1258. A-H. (16th. September 1842. A.D.) Fateh Jung was again re-installed on the throne of Kabul with the help of the English forces. The only person who at that time faced the English was Nayab Aminulla Khan Logari. He had dug trenches on the mountains of Istalif. The period of reign of Fateh Jung on this second occasion, however, did not last long, for after only one month the English forces at Kabul moved out along with those in Kandahar. Now Fateh Jung finding himself without a protector, was very anxious about his safety and feared the wrath of the nation, thus he left the crown and accompanied the Englisn columns, so that with his going, the country was purged from his presence and that of the foreigners.

Fateh Jung.

Amir Mohamad Afzal Khan.

Sardar Shair Dil Khan.

Amir Shair Ali Khan.

Sardar Ahmad Khan Norzai.

Shah Zaman.

FATEH JUNG AND SHAHPORE.

The following is an extract from a book entitled TOFFATUL HABIB by Mulla Qasar Mohamed : Volume Two ; pages 265,266.

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"The English ostensibly started from Kandahar and Jalalabad to avenge the murdered men of their ranks, and to vindicate their promise to Kabul, so that the name of their government may not be besmirched, or that they sent out the gallant Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan with the ruse of escorting the dead body of General Elphinstone, and then to place him upon the throne and then return to whence they came. Their future activities, however, showed as to what was in their minds. In any case, these English converged from two directions upon Kabul, and when they reached near Kabul, Vazir Mohamed Akbar Khan, sensing what the English might possibly have in their minds proceeded towards Bamyan. When the Vizir had left the city, the English troops entered Kabul from two directions. For the second time prince Fatch Jung was placed upon the throne, and his Vizir was Ghulam Mohamed Khan son of Shair Mohamed Khan Mukhtarud-Doulah. Nayab Aminullah Khan proclaiming a Holy War took his stand at Char Deh and getting the help of the people of Kohistan raised the standard of revolt. The English knowing of this, sent a column of their men under the leadership of Prince Shahpore to suppress the insurrection at Charikar. This force repulsed the patriots and set fire to Istalif. Fateh Jung, however, seeing the dissatisfaction of the people and being distracted with it all, agreed to renounce the claim to the throne and indicated his desire to accompany the English troops to India. The Prince Shahpore was offered the unfortunate crown ; but he too, noticing that the star of the Sadozai rule had really set, sat on a luckless throne, and the people treated him with contempt which he deserved, till his own well-wishers turned away from him.

NAYAB AMINULLAH KHAN LOGARI.

THE KHAN - The Governor — Aminullah, Nayabul Saltanuh, The National Hero.

ARTICLE: THIRTY SIXTH

In the 18th and the 19th century of Afghan history, men have arisen whose great deeds have not been made known as they ought to have been known. From amongst such is one named Nayab Aminullah Khan Logari, who from his early age till he attained the age of sixty years, having in view the good of the country and its people, had been engaged in all battles against the invaders of this country. His activities during the First Afghan War proclaim his selfless devotion to the cause of his country. His name as the great and gallant warrior and defender of his people shall always remain in the annals of our country, and his name shall be remembered as an honoured one for ever,

* * *

One of the leaders of the nation, who during the later years of the Saduzi dynasty, and during the uprisings of the Barakzais, from the later years of the rule of Zaman Shah son of Timour Shah down to the end of the second period of rule of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan - that is for sixty years - during the Anglo-Afghan War, is to be respected and whose name shall always stand out with greatness and renown amongst the ranks of nobles and leaders of this nation, was undoubtedly Nayab Aminullah Khan Baraki, otherwise known as Nayab Aminullah Khan Logari.

He it was that held himself aloof from the weekness of self-seeking when men fought and battled for self - aggrandisement, when they struggled for a place for themselves in the troublous times of the invasions of the foreigners. when groups and individuals battered at the door of fame or sunk into oblivion in quest of self-interest during the turns and twists of the 19th, century of political turmoil in this country. This noble man was born in a village called Baraki Rajan of Logar in the year 1197. A. H, which was the 11th year of the reign of Timour Shah Saduzi. His mother was

a daughter of Kamal Khan of Khurram Khail Wardak, and lived till four years prior to the death of the Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, thus she must have attained an age of 87 years. Nayab Aminullal Khan had six brothers. His father died while he was in charge of Kashmir during the time of Timour Shah. His body was brought to Kabul, and the salary of the deceased officer was given by the government to his descendents for honest services rendered to the State. Amongst those letters. which recently have been purchased for the Kabul Museum, there is a letter dated the 5th of Ziqaduiharam 1214. A.H. and is signed by the term:

"Alabud al-Muznab Dost Mohamed" revealing that the Khan Logari Nayab Aminullah Khan during the later years of Zaman Khan's rule had been acknowledged on behalf of the government as a Baraki nobleman and as head of the clan, and a yearly stipend of two hundred toumans Tubraizi, meaning four thousand ruppees, was granted to him. After Zaman Shah, and the ascending to the throne by Shah Mahmud Sadozai, Aminullah Khan Logari held the same position of a the head of Logar and Butkhak. It would appear that Fateh Khan entitled as SHAH-Dost had a particular liking for Aminullah Khan Logari. The Minister of the Realm Fateh Khan, who himself was one of the great pillars of national greatness, quite naturally valued the workers in the cause of the progress of the country, which is possibly the reason why through the recommendation of Fateh Khan, his friend Aminullah Khan Logari was made a head of Logar and Butkhak by Shah Mahmud Sadozai. A salary which was fixed for him by Zaman Shah was continued.

But when there was a cooling off of relationship between the Sadozai King and the Barakzai Minister, and the country was deprived of the national services of one like Fateh Khan, and after the shameful assassination of Payanda Khan, troubious times came upon the country as a result of discord between the two houses of Sadozais and Barakzais, Sirdar Mohamed Azim Khan remembering the former friend of Fateh Khan invited Nayab Aminullah Khan to come forward and assist the Barakzai Brothers by sending letters to himrom Kashmir and Peshawar.

There is little doubt that the Khan of Logar preferred to keep himself neutral in these internecine conflicts, but as long as he thought that the crown would continue to be held by one of the members of the Sadozai clan, he continued his support to that House. Shahshuja appointed Aminullah Khan as the head of Logar and Butkhak, and he made at Logar various improvements, such as the building of bridges, water channels, and forts, some of which carry his name to this day.

With the Barakzies, the Nayab had a friendly dealing, and each of them respected and valued him. In addition to this with the Barakzais he had made family connections; so that one of his daughters was married to Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan - the national hero - and the other was the wife of Sirdar Shumsuddin Khan. During the rule of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan the revenue of Logar and Butkhak was under the Nayab, and this was accreditted by religious and legal documents. The fame of Nayab Aminullah Khan is more closely associated with those activities which he undertook during the first Afghan War when the English invaded this country. When the English, under pretexts of various kinds, disturbed the peace of Afghanistan, as all know, and brought discord and produced uneasiness against the rule of the rightful king Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, and their invading forces marched in from Kandahar and Ghazni into Kabul, and holding this country down for four years (from 1838 to 1842, A. D,) plunged this country into distress and turmoil, there is little doubt that the leaders of the nation did not just sit idle, and did not plan out schemes to redeem the nation's honour and independence which was usurped by the cruel hands of the foreign protege - Shahshuja. On the contrary they persevered till the 2nd. of November of the year 1841. A. D. arrived and four gallant and volorous persous of resuscicated the national life in the country.

These four men, namely Abdullh Khan Achakzai, Aminullah Khan Logari, Sikundar Khan and Abdus Salam Khan had a secret conference at the hous of Abdullah Khan Achakzie, decided the fateful hour, and before the people moved out of their houses in the morning, they had gathered nationa support, and marched to the

house of the English commercial attache Alexander Burnes, burnt down his house and killed him as also his brother Charles Burnes, and a great national movement was set on foot at Kabul. This struggle was continued in the shape of the battles which took place between the Afghan nationalists and the English in such places as Shair Pore, hillsides of Bibi Maro and etc, so that on the eleventh day of this national up rising Abdullah Khan Achakzai received myrtyrdom and the day after Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan arrived from Bokhara and joined in the battle. During the four years of the English occupation of Afghan territory, the people did not accept the English protegs-Shahshuja-as the king, and for the time being had considered Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan as a ruler. Even at that time of political vaccillations Nayab Aminullah Khab was regarded as the Nayab of Second Status, or indeed, as a Nayabul Saltana. In the Treaty as signed between the retreating English and the leaders of the nation-a treaty which was not kept by the English-and is a very important document relating to Afghan history (First January 1842. A. D.) signed at Kabul. Nayab Aminullah Khan has been spoken of in the document as (The Second Status Nayab of High Honour His Excellency Nayab Aminullah Khan) which is the greatest proof of this national hero's integrity and importance. After the evacuation of the English forces from Kabul and the moving out of the Elphinstone column towards Jalalabad, when Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was a political detenue in India, and Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan was engaged in battling against the English at Jalalabad, while at Kabul Shahshuja and Sirdar Mohamed Zaman Khan were struggling for the throne, and the Pollock column was moving towards Afghanistan from India as an act of revenge against the Afghan nation and was nearing Jalalabad from Peshawar, the only person who watched for an oppoprtunity in this holocaust when internecine conflict was at its highest, was Nayab Aminullah Khan Logari. When he saw that the temper of the patriots wss beginning to cool down in bewilderment, and the English were still at Kandahar and Jalalabad, the Nayab tried hard to produce a reconciliation between Shahshuja and Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan. He also endeavoured to persuade the Saduzai king to move against

the English at Jalalabad, and to incite the valour of the nation for the protection of the country, but conditions changed with the murder of Shahshuja, the defeat of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan and the entry of General Pollock's force in Afghanistan. Later during the months of Rajab, Jamadul Sani, ane Shahan 1258. A H.(July, August & September 1842. A. D.) were months of great di-tress because of intense conflicts among the leaders of this country. In Kabul Fateh Jung son of Shahshuja had proclaimed himself king. Between him and Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan fighting ensued, the house of the Nayab was sacked onaccount of his supposed partiality towards Fateh Jung, Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan on his return from Jalalabad restarted the fight against Fateh Jung upon the Marunjan hill, till through the intervention of the Nayab it was resolved that Fateh Jung should remain kink and Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan should become the Minister of the Realm. From that date Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan was known as the Vizir, but unfortunately this settlement had little meaning when the Pollock force entered Kabul, the cohesion of national resistance broke down, and Vazir Mohamed Akbar Khan left for Bamyan. Fateh Jung came under the protection of the English. Nawab Mohamed Zaman Khan, whom the English considered as their guest sat silently in his house. The only man who collected a force of resistance in the north and fought on to the end in the hills of Istalif against the English detachment sent under Maccaste was Nayab Aminullah Khan Logari. The English called him their Enemy Number One, and they had every right to do so, because he was the only active leader of the nation at the time. According to the report of one of the compatriots of the Nayab, Amir Dost Mohamed Khan during the second period of his reign flung Nayab Aminullah Khan into the dungeon, and the Nayab died in prison at the age of 87 years.

THE BEGINNING OF GENERAL UPRISING AGAINST THE ENGLISH IN KANDAHAR

ARTICLE THIRTY SEVENTH

The well-known national movement at Kabul, which started with the burning of the house of Burnes and of his assassination spread with the utmost rapidity through out the country. The various aspects of this movement as regards such localities as Kabul, Charikar, and Ghazni have been detailed to a considerable extent, but this is the first article which contrives to reveal those national activities which were directed against General Nott at Kandahar. During this natoinal demonstration a large number of people collected around the city of Kandahar, and by setting fire to the gate of Herat at Kandahar on the night of 10th March 1842, started to attack the English.

* * *

The great anti-English national demonstration of Kabul, which started with the burning of the house of Burnes and his assassination on Thursday 2nd of November 1841 A.D. (17th. Ramazan 1157-A.H.) is one of the important dates in the history of Afghanisan. which ought to called the Day of National Uprising against the foreign occupation of the Country. This uprising was in very possible way a national uprising; because by the movement the nation was united against the foreigner and a king who was the protector of the foreign powers occuping the country : and that by the command of the real leaders of the nation, the people rose in a body against the enemies of the country. The movement at Kabul which resulted in a conflict between the people and the army, and the people won the day completely, the whole movement spread like lightening in and around Kabul, so that first within six miles, then to a distant of 12 miles, and later further it moved rapidly to Maidan, Wardak, Logar, and upto Ghazni, finally reached Kandahar.

had a Political Adviser and a General with their troops and one of the sons of the "King" Shahshuja was also there as Governor of the place. When these development taking place at Kabul, General Nott was the military Commander and major Rawlinson as the political Agent at Kandahar and Safdar Jung had but recently given over the charge to prince Timour there.

In spite of the fact that according to the terms of Treaty of 1st January 1842. A. D. (16th, Ziqad 1257. A. H.) after the murder of Macnaughton (23rd December 1842. D.A.) it was clearly laid donw that when the English forces are withdrawn from Kabul, the other English units at Kandahar and at Jalalabad shall also move out of the country to India. Yet General Nott and Major Rawlinson at Kandahar and General Sale at jalalabad instead of trying to move out of the place, actually made every effort to strengthen themselves. As could be seen from the English histories written at the time (for instance: The book of Field Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, page 102)two days after the assassination of Macnaughton on 25th. December 1842 A. D. Pottinger, the deputy of Macnaughton and Elphinstone, wrote a letter to Major Rawlinson at Kandahar saying that towards the end of February of that year he(Rawlinson) would move out. The letter was clear in its terms stating that the officers and English troops at Kandahar and Killat Ghilzai should take the shortest route to India from that location. Rawlinson gave no heed to that letter, thinking that the officers at Kabul had no free hand or independent opinion, but were dictated to by the Afghan opinion and pressure, and awaited instructions from Calcutta, so that Kandahar like Ghazni was besciged and a struggle between the people and the invaders commenced.

The city of Kandahar is so situated that the inhabitants of the town live within the fortifications, and immediately outside the walls of the city the habitations of the village and cultivatort begin.

As the news of the national uprising was constantly reaching the city from far and near, and General Nott fearing lest the people of Kandahar suddenly rise, gave orders that no one other than traders, some divines and a few others can be allowed outside the city walls or come into the city.

This order was given on 3rd March. 1842. A. D. There is, of course, no doubt that such an order indicated a fear on the part of the military officers ane the growing feelings of the people of the city. This was, however, not enough to pacify the fears of the English military commander, for he later on sent out certain of his units outside the city, and marched out of Kandahar with his men on 7th March.

IN his notes ragarding this dicision Neville Chamberlain writes "Althongh within ten miles of our camp we considered ourselves safe, yet towards dusk a large number of horsemen appeared on our left flanks, our cavalry faced them and our guns fired upon them, but no fighting took place, and we returned to our camp. On the 8th of March, a group of three or four thousand horsemen made their appearance towards our left at dawn, our cavalry, twelve of our guns and infantry went out to meet them. We drove them back to about eight miles with fire and guns, but suddenly they attacked us and our guns, and they had advanced to about 150 or 200 paces when our intense fire was directed towards them and the most gallant amongst them fell to our fire, and the remaining retired over the river. Bisides the wounded about forty were killed."

On the 9th of March, in the afternoon we moved towards Tulo Khan. When we were crossing the hill on the way, some men fired at our General, but a defending unit ran up the hill atonce and 40 patriots were killed. A few miles away we were able to see through the binoculars that a group of about three to four thousand fighting men were converging towards Kandahar but no fighting took place. We returned from Tolu Khan at night and there was some sniping on the way. . ."

According to the English themselves; groups of Ghazis, several thousand strong, were hovering near the city for an opportunity to attack the English forces, or the invading troops occupying the city of Kandahar. On 10th March large numbers of Ghazis mustered in the gardens and surrounded the town of Kandahar. Their target this time was the city. It is related that an old man named Baba Rakhari riding a donkey actually betook himself as close to the walls of the city as the Herat Gate of Kandahar, and sought permission to enter the city. As he did not receive permission he unloaded his donkey and put his burden consisting of thorny bushes at the gateway. Some of the Ghazis, finding the opportunity, sprinkled some oil on the dry load and set the mass alight. Its fire spread on to the woodwork of the gateway, which caught fire. In the leaping flames of the gateway, the English forces saw that the Ghazis were attacking the gateway fiercely. The commander of the English

forces, considering the position serious, ordered that all the bags containing flour for rations of the troops were to be stacked against the doorway as a protective wall. The English troops were firing from the loop holes, and corners of the streets and walls upon the Ghazis, but the attackers oblivious of impending death, continued to attack the city and were advancing in over-whelming numbers. Two guns and three hundred soldiers were continuously firing at the Ghazis, and barriers consisting of flour bags and animal carcases, constituting hinderinces kept the attackers back and away from the gateway. According to the English version at about 9 in the night the gateway fell outside the walls, and Ghazis swept through the raging flames, climbing the flour bags and dead animals and again and again engaged the enemy with renewed ferocity for three hours. The defending troops were active till midnight, after wich the Ghazis went back. On the 12th of March General Nott returned to Kandahar and the position of the English was then felt to be strong. But the news of the fall of Ghazni which reached Kandahar 31st March, sounded a danger signal in the ears of the English general.

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AKHTAR KHAN DAWARI

ARTICLE THIRTY EIGHT

The gallant men who appreciated the importance of their independence, during the unified Anglo Shuja rule in Afghanistan had not desisted from opposition, in all places, and in every corner of the country. All knew and took inspiration from the nationalist movements of Kohistan and Kohdaman and were aware of the great efforts of the men from the Eastern sections of the country. They knew, too, about the movement for national liberation and activities allied thereto at Killat Ghilzie, and of the men of Ghazni. Here in this article we wish to reveal another aspect of the struggle eassied on in a little known part of the country through a study of which one would note that here as in other regions of the country, arose a national hero who struggled for the indepenndence and release of his countrymen from the stangle-hold of the foreigners.

When the English occupied Jalalabad, Kandhar, Ghazni and Kabul in the name of Shahshuja in 1255.A.H. (1839.A.D.) they had placed on the throne one of the sons of Shahshuja, Fateh Jung whereas the real government was in the hands of Major Linch at Kandahar. But as difference of opinion arose between Linch and Macnaughton, the Political Adviser of the English at Kabul, Linch was replaced by Major Rawlinson who had seen service for years in Iran. Rawlinson spoke persian well and was well versed with the conditions in the East. He was appointed on 4th. July 1840. A. D. in his new post at Kandahar, and ofcourse, the military command was under General Nott. The general however was highly self-opinionated and of very limited vision regarding greater things. Macnaughton, too, was not too pleased with General Nott.

During the first year of the unified rule of the English and Shahshuja (1840.A.D.) while Shahshuja held, through English support of course, an unwilling mastery over Kabul and the regions of the southern Hindu Kush, the English helped to improve some of the activities of internal administration-according to certain views. But much time had not passed, when the banner of resistance against them and their protege Shah Shuja was raised at Kandahar and in the north-west of that area.

The outbreak in the area of Dawar is imputed by some to be due to the collection of land revenue (this is the English version) by Shah Shuja, while others think that the insurrection was caused through the jealousy of the Barakzais and Saduzais Mr. Close, an English writer believes that the Dawar revolt was caused by one Akhtar khan, who was not elected as the head of that region. But according to the version of John William Key, an English author of a book entitled The History of the Afghan Wars, the real reason of that movement was the resentment of the people of Dawar and Akhtar khan due to the interference of the foreigners in their land, that is to say the English were interfering in the life and work of the Dawar people. The author says that the English had forgotten that their unpopularity was due to the activity of the king whom they (the English) had placed upon the throne of Afghanistan. And that the presence of these English forces was directly disadvantegeous to

the man whom they had placed at the throne of Kabul. It has also been said that Shahshuja himself had a hand in the events then happening at Kandahar. But this would certainly not be the case, for when Shahshuja heard that the revolt Kandahar at was being imputed by some quarters to him he is related to have said that if he could find the person who promted that lie, he would have the tongue of such a man torn out from its roots.

As we ourselves know, and the English have mentioned in their own writings, Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan Dawari had a great share in opposing the combined rule of the English and Shahshuja. As we had said in our article entitled YAR MOHAMED KHAN ALKOZI, this man had done a great deal in thwarting the English designs and those of the Persians and the Russians regarding their desire to gain ascendency over Herat when he was a minister of Kamran Shah, and had taken advantage of the money of the English in order to strengthen his master's position in Herat, and yet had not yielded to the English in giving any preferential rights in that locality to English trade or English Politics. It was his efforts which brough the activities of Pottinger and Stuart and Todd in Herat to nought. Again it was he, who with the help of the Persians in Meshad, and the movement set up by Akhtar Khan, aad Akram Khan did everything to protect the Dawar region from English penetration and their explusion from the areas of Arghandab and the Helmand basin. These matters are made known in one of his letters which contains the following points:

(. . . .Every one of you should collect your followers, and betake yourselves to Dawar and be prepared there. I. too, will reach from Herat for help, and from Meshad we expect to receive help in the shape of ten thousand fighting men, and twelve guns and two lakhs of rupees. I shall come with great speed by the end of Muhharram at Bukwa. Be sure that none of the Durrani nobles who have been gathered together do not disperse. I shall be coming for certain. . .)

When at that time, too, Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan, had expelled Todd from Herat, the English had considered this action of the Vazir as a great slight upon themselves. Macnaughton in great wrath

over the matter gave orders that Herat should be attacked by guns and a body of English troops, and as a first step, the insurrection of Akhtar Khan, whose territory was nearest to Kandahar should be squashed. Taking this plan in view, Rawlinson, the English Political Agent at Kandahar, wrote to Russell in Sindh, and to the commander of English forces, so that whatever troops were available at Sindh should be sent to Kandahar, so that an expedition may be launched towards the region of Dawar, Herat and various other points in the western area. But Macnaughton and Lord Auckland were divided in their opinion in regards to an expedition to Herat. Macnaughton wanted that the region of Heri Rud should be brought under the rule of Shahshuja atonce, whereas Lord Auckland held that first of all the English troops should assume strength and mastery in the whole of Afghanistan after which the Herat question should be considered. Lord Auckland indeed, was not even a supporter of fighting for Herat, but thought to solve the problem through sending envoys to Herat.

It would be seen, therefore, that whereas the higher officials in Calcutta were opposed to any military expedition against Herat, Rawlinson had the intention of launching out against Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan, so that from Kandahar measures may be taken to invade the Dawar territoy, Herat and western areas and to encompass it. In any case an expedition against Akhtar Khan was very positively in Rawlinson's mind. It was atlast resolved that Rawlinson's assistant, named Elliot, should proceed towards Dawar. The purpose of this journey of Elliot was not to fight or to precipitate any sort of struggle, but by some means to conciliate Akhtar Khan. Elliot met Akhtar Khan, and the leader of Dawar was pacified through receiving some advantages from the English.

This "pacification" had but a superficial aspect as far as Akhtar Khan was concerned, and Rawlinson, the English political Agent, likewise was treating the matter in the same light on his part, thinking that the patch-work of cordiality was very temporary. In actual practice the result was seen, for the Ghilzais raised a standard of revolt against the English, and when the English forces now paid closer attention towards the

Ghilzais, Akhtar Khan found his opportunity, for although the Durrani rulers had reduced the levy of revenues, and other adjustments had been made in the Dawari administration, but as the men of Dawar were very much against the foreigners they paid no attention to the reduction of revenues and other administrative re-adjustments and backed by three thousand fighting men Akhtar Khan rose against the English.

Macnaughton was now beside himself regarding the second revolt of Akhtar Khan, and wrote to Rawlinson that whose-ever could produce the severed head of that nobleman of Dawar, shall receive a reward of ten thousand rupees. The English authors writing of these matters, generally believed that every revolt of this description that raised its head was due to the individual interest of persons, and had always felt that the people of Afghanistan would be willing to come under the foreign yoke. Thus, they thought that Akhtar Khan had become their enemy for personal aggrandisement, and that his head could be purchased with money. All the English officers, and more especially Rawlinson himself at Kandahar could see that the position of the English in Afghanistan was getting precarious every day, and that a political deluge was about to come upon them one day.

Macnaughton, sent out from Kabul one of his officers named Warburton of Shahshuja's force with a unit of the Fifth Infentry together with a cavalry unit and guns, the whole number of which was . . . . . (incomplete . . . . .) version in Persian has been omitted here, for on page 119 (Persian version) the material runs out; and page 120 of Persian Version begins with a quite different subject . . . . . (translator.)

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THE RISE & FALL OF KANDAHARI SIRDARS.

ARTICLE : THIRTY NINTH

As a result of the Barakzai Brothers, a feudal form of administration came into being in Afghanistan. But the Barakzai Sirdar at Kandahar and in its environs established

—a local government. In this Unit of administration four of these Barakzai nobles ruled: Sirdar Shair Dil Khan, Sirdar Pur Dil Khan, Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan and Sirdar Kuhandil Khan respectively. But after the death of Sirdar Kuhin Dil Khan (7th. Ziqad 1271. A. H.) this system was fortunately abrogated, so that Amir Dost Mohamed Khan with his political acumen and policy and his Son Amir Shair Ali Khan brought the whole under a wellknit system of administration and unified the whole under one centre.

* * *

Amongst the 21 sons of Sirdar Payanda Khan, five sons from the same mother-a lady Ghilzai in origin-were famous. They were Sirdars Shair Dil. Pur Dil, Kuhin Dil, Mihr Dil and Rahm Dil. They were also styled as the "Kandahari Siradrs". Due to their maternal influence in the regions of Arghandab, Tarnik, and Helmund the above mentioned appallation was applied to them, as contrasted with the Peshawari Sirdars, that is their brothers associated with the Peshawar area.

There is little doubt that the rise of the Barakzai Brotherrs as a whole, and without differenciating one group from the other, gives it in the 19th. century period of Afghan history a unique position. It is a story in to which is knit dramas of various kinds-which show the transfer of power from one dynasty to another, and which had precipitated the country into internal and external entanglement, and when the territory was divided up into feudal a form of government, into east, south and south west areas.

In this article, however, we would not concern ourselves with the matter of general rise to power of the Barakzai Brothers, but would interest ourselves only with the progress and development of the power and activities of the Kandahari Sirdars of the Barakzai clan.

When Vazir Fateh Khan was blinded by the order of prince Kamran of Herat the brothers Shair Dil Khan, Pur Dil Khan and Kohindil Khan left that city and took the city of Kandahar from Gul-Mohamed Khan, who was then the governor of that town on behalf

of Kamran. From that date onwards the influence of these Barakzai brothers became paramount at Kandahar. Sirdar Shair Dil Khan was the head of the administration at the time. It was a time, too, when on the eastern side of the realm Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan and Sirdar Dost Mohamed Khan had raised their standard against the Saduzais from Kashmir, and had driven Shah Mahmud-the Saduzai-from his throne at Kabul and had put him to flight towards Herat. In the eastern province these two brothers had completely taken over the goernment into their hands. Nor was it all, because personal animosity and rivalry reared its head amongst them, and a contest for power had started.

The Sirdars of Kandahar were now ruling over a territory beginning from Kelat upto Grishk, and from the distant regions of the river Indus to the south-west of Afghanistan. For years the rulership of Shikar Pore was in their hands, so that one of the brothers looked after the government there.

These Sirdars of Kandahar had, at their time of greatest power, not desisted from casting eyes upon matters pertaining to Kabul, and when Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan died, and his son Sirdar Habibullah Khan took the place of his father, the Kandahari brothers interfered in Kabul scenes, and once Pur Dil Khan and on another occasion Shair Dil Khan entered into the Kabul intrigues, when agreements were made regarding the division of the territory amongst these brothers, and when Sirdar Dost Mohamed Khan made the rulership of Kabul secure for himself. Despite of it all, and throughout his entire period of reign however the Predominence of the Kandahari Sirdar remained in tact in Kandahar. When the English and Shanshuja under Macnaughton invaded Afghanistan and were converging upon Kandahar, Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan was ruling over Kandahar, and with the help of Sirdars Rahm Dil Khan and Mihr Dil Khan prepared to offer resistance to the aggressors. The foreigner's troops were able to overpower that resistance due to the internal strife and treachery of some of the people themselves. As a result these Sirdars had to take refuge in the territory along the river, and for a time had to remain as refugees in Persia. When Amir Dost Mohamed Khan

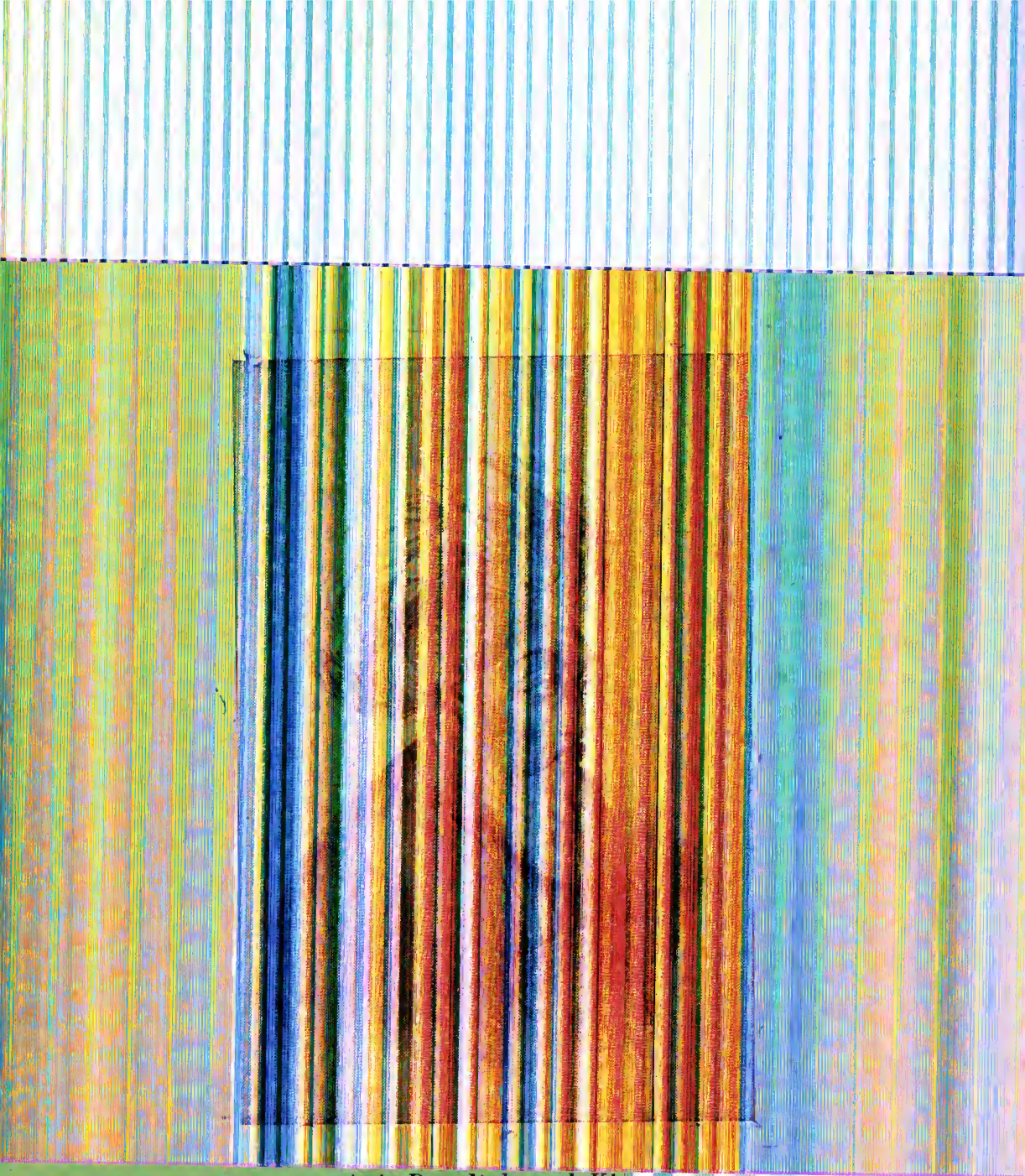
was permitted to return home from India, these Barakzai Brothers also returned to Kandahar, and Sirdar Kuhin Dil Khan once again took the government of Kandahar into his hand.

The Sirdars Mihr Dil Khan and Kohin Dil Khan died within a few months of each other (the first named on the 27th of Jamadus Sani; and the later on the 8th of Zilhij of 127[A.H.) It was the seventh year of the reign of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan when upon the death of Sirdar Kuhin Dil Khan a rift appeared into the ranks of the Kandahar Sirdars and their influence began to wane.

Particulars of this event are that after the death of Kohin Dil Khan, his son Sirdar Mohamed Sadiq Khan, and his uncle Sirdar Rahm Dil Khan became contestants for rulership of Kandahar. A struggle ensued. Although Rahm Dil Khan eventually was victorious, yet Sirdar Mohamed Sadiq Khan succeeded in gathering round him his cousins and continued to agitate. These cousins being the sons of Pur Dil Khan and Mihr Dil Khan. Each one of these cousins considered himself as the proper claimant, and as in one of these battles one Mir Afzal, the son of Pur Dil Khan was killed the whole matter assumed a very grave aspect, and the nephews of Rahm Dil Khan appealed to their other uncle the Amir at Kabul to interfere in Kandahar matters.

In the first instance Amir Dost Mohamed Khan sent a messenger to his brother at Kandahar to mend his ways, and to come within the pale of Kabul government, but as this method did not succeed, he ordered his son Sirdar Shair Ali Khan, who was his father's representative at Ghazni to march out to Kandahar with a sufficient body of trsops, Sirdar Shair Ali Khan did so and bivouaced at Deh Khoja near Kandahar. Shair Ali Khan opened overtures with his uncle at Kandahar, and by opening a way into the city he secretly introduced a hundred or two hundred of his men daily into Kandahar till three regiments of Kabul soldiers, and field guns wer hidden in the city at various points.

Sardar Kohan Dil Khan.



Amir Dost Mohamad Khan

When this military infiltration was complete, Shair Ali Khan then took the Arg and Killa of Azimabad, and without recourse to actual fighting Shair Ali Khan managed to overpower his uncle in Kandahar, so that in the year 1272 A. H. Kandahar and its environs fell in line with the rest of the dominions of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, and the last vestige of the Kandahari Sirdars was thus removed from the scene of government. This was really a great step that had been taken towards the unity of the kingdom. Shair Ali Khan's success made Sirdar Rahm Dil Khan to flee towards Maroof. Sirdar Mohamed Siddiq Khan, the son of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan went to Farah. Sirdar Khushdil Khan, son of Sirdar Mihr Dil Khan, and Sirdar Sultan Ali Khan son of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan fled to Poshanuj. The remaining descendents of the Kandahari Sirdars found their respective hiding places far and near. Sirdar Shair Ali Khan, however, chased all of them, so that Sirdar Jalaluddin Khan, the son of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan arrested Sirdar Mohamed Sadiq Khan at Farah, but he escaped on the way towards Gulistan of Ghour. But from there he arrived at the court of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan. Sirdar Rahm Dil Khan after a great chase was brought before the Amir and because of promises of pardon that had been given through the intermediation of Sirdar Ghulam Haider Khan, the former came to realise that his claim and those of the others, no longer held true, and finally, therefore, the entire descendents of the Sirdars of the ancient city of Kandahar lost all claims to rulership.

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SIRDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN:
and.
THE HERAT GOVERNMENT.

ARTICLE FORTHIETH

In this article particulars will be given about a man, whose place is amongst the first in the rank of those who served the na-

tional cause during the First Afghan War. This great warrior, who was not friendly to Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, took refuge at the Qajjar court, and accepted the government of Herat for the sole purpose of opposing Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, both as a rival and an enemy of the Amir. No doubt in his temper and action, there is more a mere suggestion of separatism. but in effect this is no more than tendency of separateness which existed amongst all the leaders during the 18th and the 19th century, so that in order to appreciate this feeling, one ought to keep in view the time and the circumstances that obtained at the time.

One of the young Sirdars, with a determination and warmth of an Afghan spirit, who attract our attention during the difficult times of the First Afghan War (1839. A. D.) and whose career lasted upto the end of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan's reign (Tuesday 21st. Ziqada 1279.A.H.) was the son of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan, one named Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan.

The life and work of Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan according to historical analysis come under two heads, in these two phases of his activities, a few years of his life as a refugee must also be counted. Although these two sections of his life's activities appear as rather contrary to one another, yet if one were to consider the real facts, this apparent contradiction does not really exist in the mental make-up of the Sirdar.

The role which this Sirdar has played in the period of the first quarter of the 19th century belongs to that character which shows him battling against the aggressive forces of the English, in defence of his people from aggression, and his endeavours for the expulsion of the foreigners from Afghanistan. The next phase relates to that which concerns his adhesion to the Persian view point. Circumstances had so contrived that this Sirdar should rule over Herat, and from this small principality he should play a role in the moving affairs of the east.

Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan was a playmate of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan, one of the sons of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, and both during their younger days and when they were grown men, they remained great friends. Not only because of their association during their youth but also in regards to higher things in life, the views of the two were similar. Their personalities ought to be kept in view as to the activities of each in the development of historical events as the time progresses so that the troubles and tribulations of life of the times could be seen as reflected by the two careers.

When Amir Dost Mohamed Khan had taken refuge in Bokhara on the English invasion of Afghanistan accompanied by Shah Shuja, these two Sirdars were busy in devising schemes, each in his own way, to win back the liberation of Afghanistan. When Amir Dost Mohamed Khan ultimately reached Kabul, the two Sirdars having endured the prison the Amir of Bokhara, were released in the year 1257. A. H. and crossing the Oxus reached the troublous regions of Kabul once again.

As every body knows those were the times when the great movement of national liberation was a foot at Kabul. At Shair Pur Abdullah Khan Achakzai was attacking the English guns constantly till one day the two Sirdars also reached the battle field and found that the other great national hero-Abdullah Khan Achakzai-was mortally wounded. After this, in all battles and forays, such as the battles at Shair Por, at Bibi Mahro, in all conferences of the leaders of the nation against the English, as also in the assossination of Macnaghten, in the conference which terminated in the treaty of the English and their promise to evacuate Kabul, in those engagements that took place in the eastern parts of the country. at the attack at Tazeen, in the battles of Jalalabad, in the efforts to thwarting the forces of General Pollock, in the Khyber pass, and in short in all those battles and engagements that were undertaken for the defence of the country against the agressors Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan took notable part. From the smallest to greatest of these events he was an active partner of his cousin and friend Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan. Indeed,

so close was the co-operation of these two young warriors, that those events which were considered as most dangerous and important, were all entrusted to Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan. This co-operation lasted till Afghanistan was rid of the aggressors, and Amir Dost Mohamed Khan once again arrived in Afghanistan in the month of Ramazan of the year 1258. A. H. (1842. A. D.) and in 1259. A. H. occupied the throne of Afghanistan.

With the disappearance of the English aggressors from Afghanistan the first phase of the activities of Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan terminated. The return of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, however, persuaded him along with Sirdar Mohamed Zaman Khan to bid for the Emirate of Afghanistan.

Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan, seeing the whole hearted support that he had all along received from Sirdar Sultan Ahmad Khan, gave promise to his cousin and companion of many battles that he (Sultan Ahmed Khan) shall receive the governership of the northern regions of the Hindu-Kush. Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan was content with this offer, but in effect he thought of greater things for him self. When, however, Amir Dost Mohamed Khan sat on the throne of Afghanistan, he heard, of course, of Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan's ambitions, and quite naturally did not like another rival. It is also related that this difficulty was due to some personal motives which were further inflamed by the intriguers at the court. Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan's point of view was that as he had performed national service, he obviously deserved his reward. But very probably the reason of the animosity between him and the Amir was due to the foreign policy of the country, for the Sirdar did not consider the attitude of the Amir towards the English as desirable, for the Sirdar had, different ideas as to what the English wanted in pursuit of their imperialist policy in the east. In any case discord arose between the Amir and the Sirdar. A letter written by Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan to the King of Persia was captured by Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan-another brother of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan-and this occasioned the flight of Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan and his taking refuge at the Qajjar court.

Those were the times when the Persian king showed interest in the claims of the descendent of Vazir Yar Mohamed Khan Alakozay, and

when the question of Herat was settled through English intervention at the Persian Gulf vide the Agreement which was signed on the 4th of March 1857 A. D. Any person, therefore, anyone who was the rival of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, and an enemy of the English was, of course, a great "asset" for the persians, who thought that by giving asylum to the disgruntled Afghans at Herat, their purpose could be well served. It was further considered by the Persians (although they the persians) had undertaken under the treaty made with the English regarding the non-intervention in Herat affairs, not to do so) they could use an Afghan at Herat for their own desings, an Afghan who was at one and the same time an enemy of the English and a rival to Amir Dost Mohmed Khan. According to this idea Nasirnddin Qajjar showed much respect to Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan, and his son, for he gave the title of SIRKAR to Sirdar Sultan Ahmad Khan, and bestowed the title of Amir Punji upon the Sirdar's son. In these circumstances, there for a struggle was precipitated between a great Afghan hero, rich with the services of the nation, and Amir Dost Mohamed Khan at a time when the unity of the Kingdom was in the making. And all this due to personal interests and on account of the refuge taken by the Sirdar at the Persian court as also by his governorship ot Herat. He was, too, the son in law of Amir Dost Mohamed khan for his wife was the real sister of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan and Amir Shair Ali Khan. Here was an unfortunate position, for so close a relationship was converted into deep animosity.

When the sending of letters and communications did little good, and as Sirdar Sultan Ahmed khan now contemplated an expedition against Farah, Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was compelled to settle the Herat question once and for all. An expedition was sent out against Sirdar Sultan Ahmed khan under the leadership of Sirdar Shair Ali khan, and the Amir himself leaving his winter quarters Jalalabad, and having placed matters of Kabul and Kandahar on a firm footing, left for Herat. The armies encamped close to the walls of the city of Herat.

This sad story of battles between the nephew and the uncle, the battle between the father and the husband, and this tug of war between the king and a heroic Sirdar, is one of the tragedies of those times. The siege lasted for ten months, and

each one of which requires a separate chapter to itself. It is strange. too, that this tragedy shows the valour and the Afghan spirit on both sides, but most unfortunately, that very unhappy trait of discord which had time and again hindered the happiness and had distressed our country is singularly manifested in this as in others. During this tragic encirclement of the town of Herat, the Sirdar and his wife died within a short time of each other. and the city surrundered: It should be recorded that two weeks after this the Amir too. died. and thus the curtain falls upon this tragedy.

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TEN MONTHS SIEGE OF HERAT.

Amir Dost Mohamed Khan versus Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan.

ARTICLE FORTY FIRST

The last year of the life and reign of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was practically spent in laying a siege of Herat (1278. A. H,). This was a battle which had all the appearance of an internecine war, but as the fate of Herat depended upon it, both the king and the people of Herat were determined that this tussel must take place, and the fight must continue to the end. Sirdar Sultan Ahmed, too. did not show the slightest inclination to weaken, and continued to defend the city gallantly, so that the Sirdar did not surrender till he died, and the king did not die till he did not capture the city. In his old age. the national urge came upon the king, and in his failing health and physical disabilities he persevered to reduce Herat and was successful. (or was it death that solved the question ?)

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There is little doubt that it was Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan. the son of Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan. who put in a great deal of effort to expel the aggressors from the realm. and towards his later years was a claiment to the throne. But when that feeling did and not translate itself into realily. (through the

influence of Sirdar Mohamed Akbar Khan, which made him show a spirit of co-operation and contentment for what he was being offered as a reward for his services,) but upon Amir Dost Mohamed Khan's accession to the throne , and due to the conflict with the Amir's foreign policy, a difference of opinion on foreign policy arose between the two. According to the agreement which he had made with the English at Kandahar, that he will not interfer with the Indian affairs, also in regards to the Herat question, too. the Amir hesitated till the last. inorder to know the inclination of the English. In as much as Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan was the avowed enemy of the English and their imperialist designs in the east, he was, therefore, unable to fall in with the views of the Amir, for the Amir was bound by engagements with the English. At last he left Afghan territory due to personal antagonism, and went to Tehran. In order to rival Amir Dost Mohamed Khan and to oppose the English wherever he could find them, he accepted the governorship of Herat as liege to the Persians. It was this decision that made the uncle and the nephew. the father-in-law and the son-in-law oppose each other from behind the walls of Herat, and to fight out the issue till they died.

Amir Dost Mohamed Khan moved from Kabul together with several Sirdars and leaders towards Herat on 8th. Shawal 1277. A. H. The advance party was sent under Sirdar Shair Ali Khan and Sidars Mohamed Amin Khan and Sirdar Mohamed Sharif Khan-Dost Mohamed Khan's sons who on the way took the city of Farah from Mir Afzal Khan, an appointee of Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan. The Amir at the head of his own army joined the advance party. The combined forces after breaf engagements against Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan's son Shahnawaz Khan at Subzawar and the environs of the city, surrounded the city of Herat. Thus the city of Herat was beseiged on the 10th of Safar 1278. A. H. (August 1861. A. D.) For five days the besciging army dug up trenches around the city, and frequent night raids, tunnelling and sundry engagements continued for six months.

Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan, during the difficult days of siege wrote a letter to Nasiruddin Qajjar seeking help, but the

king of Persia did not give him the slightest assistance excusing himself due to the treaty with the English which he had made in 1857. A. D, and so gave a flat refulsal. Furthermore Abdul Ghafar Khan, the English representative at Meshad wrote to Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, informing the Amir of the neutrality of the Shah towards this struggle over Herat. The Amir had managed to convey the reply of the Shah and the English representative's letter to the beseiged Sirdar. Sultan Ahmed Khan, and sent these communications to the Sirdar at Herat. The Sirdar sent a reply to Amir Dost Mohamed Khan in these words of the Persian verse. "What if we have no pilot for our ship! We have a God, and need no pilot!"

Despite the fact that the rigours and distresses of the siege increased, the Sirdar did not give in the slightest degree in his resolve and purpose, and continued to defend the city. Overcome with grief, the princess Nawab Dokhtar, the daughter of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan, who was the witness of this tragedy died during the eighth month of the siege overcome by the strife between the close members of the family. The sad death did produce a certain amount of steadying effect upon the conflict. The bier of the princes was carried out of the city, with the permission of the Amir and accompanied by the lady's small son Abdullah Jan, was buried with the expression of grief of her relatives at Guzargah. After the usual ceremonies for the dead, and the return of young Abbullah Jan to the city the siege continued. Lack of food and other difficulties of those beseiged brought great distress upon the people. It is related that during those days, Sirdar Sultan Ahmad Khan personally distributed food and eatables to the people at the four corners of the city every week, and used to encourage the people to resist, till the stores became empty. All that remained were the animals, and the distress of the people was extreme, so that the Sirdar himself struck by the tragedy of the death of his wife, died after about a month and a halth. Once again the battle subsided and once again the gateway of Herat was opened and he was buried, all the Sirdars taking part in the ceremony except the Amir; and the honour for the dead was fully manifested by the lines of soldiers on the road.

He was buried along side of his wife, and after three days of funeral and memorial ceremonies, the gateways of the city were again closed and the siege continued.

At that juncture, both from the side of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan and the people of the city every endeavour was made to end the senseless struggle, but the sons of the late Sirdar, especially Shah Nawaz Khan, who had succeeded his father were greatly opposed to any peace settlement. Towards the tenth month, however when the rations had become exhausted, the people of the town themselves along with some of the leaders, like Mir Afzal Khan, son of Sirdar Pur Dil Khan, and Ghulam Mohayuddin Khan son of Sirdar Kohin Dil Khan also favoured the people's point of view. But Sirdar Shah Nawaz Khan insisted upon continuing the defence of the town. The above mentioned two Sirdars were asked to leave the city, and he together with his brothers continued to defend the city. But the inhabitants of the city could not undergo any further privations, and prince Shah Nawaz Khan and his brothers were persuaded to the gateways of the city on the 8th of Zil Hij 1278. A. H. (May 1862. A. D.) and the troops of the Amir entered the city.

During the days when the intensity of this siege was at its highest, and these struggles unto death between father-in-law and son-in-law were raging at their greatest point, the illness of Dost Mohamed Khan increased due to general physical weakness and no remedy seemed to do any good at al. When the Amir saw that his asthma would probably kill him, he called a meeting of his sons and others of his near relations and selected Sirdar Shair Ali Khan as his successor. And as the Amir's condition became dangerous and gave anxiety to all princes beside him, the gates of the city of Herat were opened and the town was surrundered. During his illness all the sad events, such as the death of his daughter, the fear of an internecine war and so forth were overwhelming him, yet he had a desire that Herat should be reduced at all costs. God gave him two more weeks of life, so that he could see the fall of Herat before his death.

THE REVOLT OF AZAD KHAN, THE GOVERNOR OF KASHMIR THE ACTION OF H. M. TIMOUR SHAH AGAINST HIM.

ARTICLE FORTY SECOND

From the time of His Majesty Ahmed Shah upto the time of Nawab Jabbar Khan, who was the governor of Kashmir, the Afghan governors of that province designated governors, or Administrative officers or merely officers of the kingdom of Afghanistan had each and everyone of them raised their heads in revolt against the central government as rulers of Kashmir. Such governors as Abdullah Khan Alkozai, Shair Mohamed Khan Bamizai, Atta Mohamed Khan Bamziai, and Sirdar Mohamed Azeem Khan did so. Nor was that all, because some of them had with held the revenue of the province. One of such persons is Azad Khan son of Haji Karim Dad Khan, who after the death of his father became governor of Kashmir. We give here the story of his revolt and the punishment which he received at the hands of His Majesty Timour Shah.

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The last of the governors of Kashmir appointed by His Majesty Ahmed Shah Durrani was one Haji Karim Dad Khan Arz Baigi. He ruled over Kashmir during the last years of the reign of the Afghan emperor Ahmed Shah Durrani. The death of this governor of Kashmir took place at about the time of the first ascending to the throne of Ahmed Shah's son Timour Shah. The new king appointed the son of the deceased Governor of Kashmir in place of his father.

Azad Khan was a great warrior, very resourceful and even rather inclined to insolence. As soon as he became the governor of Kashmir, he felt himself drunk with power and saw dreams of his own greatness. He thought of making himself independent, and by giving large sums of money to the commanders of the army he won them over to his side. Also he enrolled three thousand Kashmiree Indians into his army, and raised the standard of revolt

against his king. He then went further and kept back all revenues which were due to the central Government.

As soon as these unseeming activities of Azad Khan reached the ears of the king in Afghanistan, he sent an officer, one named Mir Mohamed Ali Khan, known as Kifayat Khan to give"good advice" to the rebel. The king's messenger, due to his wisdom managed to persuade the rebel to come to his senses, and not to indulge in such acts against the government. He also advised him to send three lakhs of rupees to Afghanistan and be received at the king's audience.

The "rebel" governor had hardly emerged from Kashmir, when the king heard further reports against Azad Khan from the lips of his brothers namely Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan, who had been asked by their brother-the governor of Kashmir-to leave Kashmir, and who had taken refuge at the Afghan court. The king became enraged against Azad Khan and commanded that thirty thousand fighting men should immediately be go to Kashmir and that Azad Khan should be punished. The kings's army encamped Kashmir on the outskirts of a village named Nakli on the banks of the river Muzaffarabad. It so happened that Azad Khan at that time was on the other side of the river in the house of his father in law. A battle, therefore took place between the troops of the king and the Kashmirees. Mullah Azam Khan, the commander of Kashmir troops was killed and the king's troops were victorious. Two thousand men of Azad Khan were drowned in the river at Muzarffabad, and the rebel governor wanted to flee, but his cousin, one named Pahlawan Khan dissuaded him and Made him withstand the onslaught,so that by repeated attempts at fighting, the rebel's troops steadily achieved the upper hand, and the king's forces were defeated. Having gained victory Azad Khan returned to Kashmir and the king's men retreated to Kabul.

It is related that during this fighting the Yusuf Zai clans, and those of Peshawar, showed loyalty to the Saduzai kings' cause. One of them Syed Olul Shah belonging to the clan of Utman Khail fought so gallantly, despite many wounds, that he was brought be-

fore Azad Khan and was the object of much appreciation from the governor of Kashmir. Impressed by the fighting qualities of this man, it is related that the rebel governor enrolled one thousand and five hundred of his Yusufzai clansmen in his army. When His Majesty Timour Shah heard the news of defeat of his army, he thereupon resolved to take an expedition himself to the east. With a great army he arrived at Peshawar, giving the command of the army, the military quarters and the arrangements of war to Sirdar Madad Khan Isshaq Zai. Madad Khan took his men across the river Indus near Attack to the confines of Kashmir. Azad Khan on his part stood on the defensive. Whilst small engagements took place, Madad Khan got a certain number of Azad Khan's men to withdraw their allegiance towards him, and brought them to the king's fold by promises and other devices. By the order of Azad Khan, Shadi Khan made a night attack upon the king's forces, but as Madad Khan was well informed of that plan, battles were fought out and as Azad Khan heard of the plans of the king's commander and found that he could not cope with it, took refuge in the house of his father in law. The father in law of Azad Khan did not want to implicate himself with his son in law's evil doings, therefore, with the help and co-operation of the king's commander, he (the father in law) by degrees reduced the number of Azad Khan's men and when one day Azad Khan was sleep alone in a room, his father in law locked the door of tne room, and the rebel was Captured. His father in law was rewarded by being installed as an officer of two thousand horsemen in the service of the king.

Azad Khan finding that his opposition had no further meaning wanted to blow up his brains with a revolver, but he himself took out Azad's eyes and then cut his head and sent the rebel's head to the king at Peshawar and continued to be in the king's service.

It is related that Timour Shah was really disressed about the murder of Azad Khan, whom he regarded as a great fighter with a manly character. The rebel was buried with due honours by the order of the king, and his mother was summoned from Kandahar. When she was asked to remarry, and take on one of the nobles of the court as

husband,so that she might become mother to another son like Azad Khan, who might have great qualities of bravery of an Afghan; the Afghan woman replied there would be no such man as Ahmed Shah, to whom a son like Timour-a just and a good king may be born, nor would there be another Haji Karim Dad Khan, her deceased husband from whom a son like Azad Khan was to be born. The reply pleased the king greatly and she was highly honoured. The small son of Azad Khan went to Kandahar and lived during the reign of Timour Shah.

* * *

TIMOUR SHAH DURRANI AND THE PLAN OF VAZIR SHAH WALI KHAN.

ARTICLE FORTY THIRDTH

About the events of the Saduzai dynasty, the events of the coming upon the throne of Ahmed Shah Durrani, and the reasons of the plans of Vazir Shah Wali Khan it is impossible to arrive at a denifite conclusion. The real and the hidden meaning differ, and as documents in this connection are few and for between are quite vague on's judgement ought to be carefully weighed.

* * *

Although the number of wives and the sons of His Majesty Ahmed Shah Durrani are not correctly known, yet he is said to have had six sons, whose names are given below: Prince Timour, Prince Sulaiman; Prince Sikandar, Prince Shahab, Prince Darab and Prince Parwaiz. Prince Timour was the eldest son of Ahmed Shah, whose mother belonged to Bahsood of Jalalabad. This prince had been appointed first as governor of the Punjab and then of Herat during the life time of his father. These appointments showed the importance of this prince in the eyes of his father.

It is related that Ahmed Shah prior to his going out for a rest towards the Tobah mountains from Kandahar in the year 1187. A.H. (about 45 miles east of Kandahar) convened a meeting of his

sons and the heads of the clans, at which he proclaimed his eldest son Timour as his heir to the throne. After that he journeyed towards Mahal Marouf. When, however, the illness of Ahmed Shah took a dangerous turn, Prince Timour intended to come to see his father at Kandahar, but when he arrived a place called Washair, which lies on the way to Kandahar in the Helmand area, he received instructions to return to Herat. The return of this Prince from so close a proximity of Kandahar is a very delicate matter to judge, for it is a fact which reflects upon the activities of Vazir Shah Wali Khan and the raising to the throne of his son-in law Sulaiman, and explains the motive behind the order not to proceed further than the above mentioned point. As the king was very ill, it is conjectured that the prohibitory order was issued by the Vazir on behalf of the king. In any case the proclaiming of Prince Timour as the king by Ahmed Shah was a fact which was enacted in the presence of the heads of the clans. When Prince Timour, however, went back to Herat and was still there, the death occurred of His Majesty Ahmad Shah at Kandahar, and Prince Sulaiman was placed upon the throne of his father. Prince Sulaiman was younger in years to his elder brother Prince Timour, and his accession to the throne was regarded as the action of Vazir Shah Wali Khan, who was the father in law of the young prince Sulaiman.

There is little doubt that Vazir Shah Wali Khan was a man of foresight and wisdom and his oratory was well known, for by the flow of language he could keep his hearers spell bound, and his rivals were always afraid of his mastery in that direction. The assumption of kingship by prince Sulaiman at the time of absence of his elder brother, who was at Herat, at considerations which have provided contradictory observations in the history of Saduzais. Some opinions have been expressed that the assumption of rulership on the part of Prince Sulaiman was only a temporary measure and a matter of policy of the time. So much so taht the late Amir Habibullah Khan is also of the same opinion, and that by this action Vazir Shah Wali Khan had no especial plan Timour Shah. But any proof vindicating the Vazir for this act is a difficult matter. His relationship with Prince Sulaiman,

his issuing the order for Prince Timour to return to Herat, and then quickly placing Sulaiman upon the throne are matters which are apparently against the Vazir. There is, however, the element of the wrong reporting on behalf of the rivals of the Vazir at the court, for at that period of our history, such elements were unfortunately rife and had their power, and thus they may have contributed towards , the severing of friendly relations between the Vazir and the Prince.

When the news of the accession to the throne of Prince Sulaiman reached the ears of his elder brother at Herat, he (Timour) at once started for Kandahar. According to the records of the time, a good number of the heads of the clans, who did not see eye to eye with the Vazir also left Kandahar to receive Prince Timour on his way to Kandahar. Some were headed by such Sirdars as Sirdar Madad Khan Isshaqzai.

The somewhat surprising fact is this that on one side the Vazir was said to have placed his son in law on the throne, and on the other hand, he himself also started westward to receive Prince Timour. An explanation is given by saying that the Vazir had placed Prince Sulaiman on the throne, so that no interim difficulties about the accession may occur. Thus in reality the Vazir was in favour of Prince Timour. But those who surrounded Prince Timour had poisoned the ears of the Prince to such a degree that the Prince would not see the Vazir on his way to Kandahar.

It is reported that the Vazir and the Prince were very near Farah one coming from Herat and the other from Kandahar. The prince had a large army with him, while the Vazir was accompanied by only one hundred and fifty horsemen.

As soon as those who accompanied the prince heard of the Vazir's arrival at Farah, they advised the prince with the connivance of Qazi Faizullah Khan , that the Vazir should be killed, and that he should certainly not see the Vazir, because the purpose of his reception by the Vazir was no other than to deceive him.

With the permission of the prince, therefore, two heads of the clans namely Anko Khan Bamizai and Islam Khan sssassinated the great Vazir, who had served so well, at a place called Siah Aab in the western portion of the Bakwah desert, together with his two sons and two of his nephews. As a result of this shametul action, and prior to ascending to the throne, a large number of the leaders of the clans were prejudiced against the prince. When Prince Timour reached Kandahar, his younger brother Prince Sulaiman very gladly vacated the royal place in favour of his elder brother from Herat. A number of the leaders of the clans were left at Kandahar-Kandahar as the center of administration-and Timour started towards Kabul. Inspite of this his antagonists were not quiet and made a pact around Abdul Khaliq Khan, the uncle of Ahmed Shah, and attacked Kabul. As a rasult battles were fought and at last Timour Shah was secure upon the throne.

* * *

THE LAST DAYS OF AMIR DOST MOHAMED KHAN.

ARTICLE FORTY FORTH

One of the reasons of rivalry and animosity of the Barakzais and the Saduzais was that Herat remained in the hands of weak princes of Saduzais and the Alokozais, and their weakness compelled them often to seek the help of the Qajjars of Persia. During these turbulent times because one of the events had assumed high importance, (Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan had established a rulership at Herat), the last year, of the reign of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was spent in solving the Herat question, and the reduction of Herat was the last act of his reign which gave him satisfaction at his death-bed, after which he died within two weeks.

* * *

During the winter of 1277. A.H. when Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was as usual at Jalalabad, he received a letter from Saifullah Khan,

one of his sons at Farah, where he was acting as his father's representative, saying that Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan, who was the nephew of the Amir and the Amir's son in law was raising the standard of revolt and independence against the Amir at Herat. Saifullah Khan's mother was a Hazara woman. The newes shook the Amir and he gave orders forthwith to start for Herat.

The Amir arrived on the first day of the Idd (Feast) at Kabul, and the people went out to greet him and to celebrate the Idd at Siah Sung. The Amir being in great haste to march upon Herat asked the people to pray for his victory at Herat. Reclining upon a cushion on the back of an elephant, he entered the city by the Lahori gate, and as the number of troops accompanying him was large he did not halt in the city but encamped near the village of Deh Bori (today's Karta Char) end at that point) Sirdar Mohamed Ali Khan, the son of Sirdar Shair Ali Khan was appointed as governor of Kabul and after twenty day's stay at Kabul he moved westward Herat.

As we had mentioned in our article entitled "The Ten-Month siege of Herat,, Sirdar Shair Ali Khan who had been commanded to march to Herat from Kandahar was joined by the Amir's troops at Farah. The combined armies ultimately reached Herat. The two armies were now prepared to decide the fate of Herat, one was behind the walls of the city and the others was attacking. Various facts had been narrated in the above mentioned article, such as the grief of the Amir's daughter over this fight amongst her close relatives,the death of the princes from heart break, and the weakness of the Amir due to illhealth and worries of administration. All these events were well in the mind of the ailing Amir in the year 1278.A.H. Those times were pregnant with many difficulties for the leaders of the clans had been divided into two sections, as also were the people, so that due to personal interests, and the cannivance of self-seekers, an unfortunate conflict had been precipitated between a gallant Sirdar like Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan and a great king like Dost Mohamed Khan over the hopes and fears of one of the important cities like Herat. Whereas everyone knew that it was an internecine war and no one was expected to profit by it, yet tempers were so inflamed on both sides every man's hand was lifted against his

brolher. As we have already mentioned, at the centre of the kingdom one of the grandsons of the Amir had been made the governor. But a large number of the king's relatives were with him on this Herat expedition, each one of whom had a plan unto himself for his personal interests, except Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan. Each, too, had some expectations for the throne of their father.

Apart from this the question of Herat had become a matter of contention, for Sirdar Sultan Ahmed Khan would not give up resistance and continued to fight, and after him his son Sirdar Shah Nawaz Khan, despite the solicitations of the inhabitants of the town would not give up. Quite naturally the illness of the king under this strain of war and worry progressively became worse, and added to other difficulties producing a situation at which might well shed tears.

As Amir Dost Mohamed Khan now saw the danger of the situation from all directions, and hoped but little for his success, only two matters had any importance to him. Both of them had the significance of life and death to him; the first was the appointment of an heir to the throne, and the second was the fall of Herat. The Amir was of the opinion that even if one of these two objects could not be secured, prior to his death, then the whole picture of events as he saw them would be gravely distorted and became one was intimately related to the other, and since no other person could conduct the warfare except himself, he resolved to call a meeting of his sons and princes, leaders of the clans and heads of the departments of the army so that he could solve the question with them and before them. Mirza Yaqub Ali Khan writes of this in his book entitled "The Statements of the Last Kings of Afghanistan, as below:

"In the Deh Bori of Kabul, I fastened the sword to the girdle of my grandson Sirdar Mohamed Ali Khan, as the heir of his father Sirdar Shair Ali Khan, and made him governor of Kabul. To you all elders I have addressed these remarks that you

should acknowledge Sirdar Shair Ali Khan as my successor. To day the Sirkar's illness is grave and there is no hope for his survival. With your consent and approval I wish to make my successor Sirdar Shair Ali Khan. What is your opinion? All the elders who were present agreed to the command of the king and said that may this decision prove auspicious. After that he placed his own turban upon the head of Sirdar Shair Ali Khan, and fastened his own sword to the girdle of his son. All this was enacted in front of the big and the small, all high ranking officers and the army. All acknowleged Sirdar Shair Ali khan as the king presumptive and congratulated him. After that the Amir gave an advice for unity and the necessity of preserving unity, and commanded that all should obey Sirdar Shair Ali Khan. When this was finished, the Amir emphasised the necessity and urgency of reducing the Herat citadel with all possilble haste, and exhorted his men to launch an attack on the city. He wished that the city be captured during his life time, adding that as he had not long to live the sooner the city was reduced the happier he would feel as their king, so that he may return to his God after that event.

The heads of the armies and the Sirdars were greatly impressed by the king's "last words" and preparations were set on foot to launch a strong attack upon Herat as a result of which prince Shah Nawaz Khan and the inhabitants opened the gates of Herat on 8th of Ziqad 1278 A.H.and under the instructions of the new king the city was occupied. The last wish of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was thus fulfilled and in conformity with the occasion much rejoining took place on the fall of the city, in all cities and provinces.

* * *

AMIR SHAIR ALI KHAN STRUGGLES WITH HIS BROTHERS

ARTICLE FORTY FIFTH

The period of reign of Amir Shair Ali Khan beginning from the end of the year 1278 A. H. to the heginning of the year 1283 A.H. meanig a period of four and a half years, despite all the good intentions which he had to serve the best interests of the king-

dom, he was never free from the troubles and turmoils erected by his brothers, It was not like the period of Zaman Shah, when the Sadozai brothers had to be content with his reign. From Zarmust, Takhta Pul, Kandahar and Hazarajat,his brothers, like Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan, Sirdar Mohamed Aslam Khan, Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan and Sirdar Mokamed Amin Khan had arisen against him, and although the Amir was successful in the south, north and the west, he was at last overpowered by them.

Contrary to Timour Shah Sadózai, who did not declare any of his sons as heir to the throne (the number of such sons being 24). Amir Dost Mohamed Khan had more sons than the above mentioned, and at least 12 of whom survived him. During his life time the Amir gave special attention to this matter of succession. First of all he appointed his eldest son Sirdar Mohamed Haider Khan as his heir, but after the death of that Sirdar. Sirdar Shair Ali Khan was made heir.

As we wrote in the article entitled "The Last Days of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan", towards the end of the year 1278. A. H. when on one side he had the expedition of Herat on his hands, and on the other his ailment was getting very serious, he summoned prince Shair Ali Khan before all the Sirdars, military officers and elders and had the prince acknowledged as his successor, showing the wisdom, so that at that delicate juncture jealousies may not disturb the accomplishment of the task before him. But unfortunately, history shows that when Amir Dost Mohamed Khan closed his eyes and departed to the next world, the last rites of his death had not as yet been over, when the new king was surrounded by fraternal discord.

During the actual time of kingship of his father, Amir Shair Ali Khan had been made paramount in all matters relating to the army, till Herat was reduced. And thirteen days after the death of the Amir and the termination of all ceremonies, a return to Kabul was undertaken.

At this time the following of the sons of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan held offices in the country: Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan, the eldest, was ruling over the territory north of the Hindu Kush; Sirdar Mohamed Amin Khan was ruling at Kandahar; Sirdar Mohamed Sharif Khan was at Farah; and Mohamed Husain Khan was at Hazarajat; while the rest were all at Herat. Inspite of the fact that acknowledgement either in person or by letter was given, but inwardly not one of them was content with his lot. Prior to twenty days, when the new Amir was to leave Herat for Kabul, plots were being hatched and new plans were being made against him. The most important of these plans were made by Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan. Both for himself and his real brothers the above named Sirdars had expectations, and to all of such his incitement was excercised to the full. He wrote a letter to Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan at Takhta Pul near Mazar-Sharif, and incited him to take Kabul. At the time, as may be remembered the city was under the governorship of Prince, Mohamed Ali Khan, son of Shair Ali Khan. But out of large heartedness he sent in his renewed allegiance to Shair Ali Khan, and contended himself with governing only the northern regions. As this incitement was found to be of no avail in the case of Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan, he sent presents through Mirza Ahmed Khan Kashmiree and Nazir Haidar Khan -both being his trusted men-to Kabul. But a letter was discovered from Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan in which he had written to his brother to take Kabul. The Amir, who was naturally susceptible, thought that this letter was indicative of an allianec between the two brothers from the north and the south, and to both of them replied that they should either make submission or be ready to fight. He sent a number of fighting men towards Zormut against Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan, and as he could not stand his ground, he was forced to escape to India and to the protection of the English. By this time Amir Shair Ali Khan had dispensed with his rivals, and then thought of driving final conclusions between himself and Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan. Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan had no real animosity against his brother the Amir, and expressed his allegiance and friendship towards Shair Ali Khan, but

the Amir had become suspicious towards him both because he helped the revolt of Sirdar Mohamed Aslam Khan and because of the discovery of a letter of Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan, decided to march his troops northwards. A body of men under the command of prince Mohamed Ali Khan, the son of Amir Shair Ali Khan marching on to the north contacted the other troops in the valley of Bajgah near the Seighan and Kahmurd. The son of the Amir found himself victorious, and the Amir himself arrived at the rear. At the Dou Aab of Shahpasund. Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan made an appearance before the Amir Shair Ali Khan. Rather than to march back to Kabul, and give the governorship of the north to his brother, the Amir marched upto Mazar Sharief, and Sirdar Abdur Rahman not liking the idea of his father submitting to Shair Ali Khan went as a refugee to Bokhara, while Mohamed Afzal Khan was put under house-arrest, so that the biggest of the claimants to the throne was squashed.

Sirdar Mohamed Aslam Khan resolved to fly to Hazarajat. He had an idea that with his real brother, Sirdar Mohamed Husain Khan he might still offer some resistance. Before the Amir reached Kabul, the above mentioned Sirdar reached Zormut and with the help of the tribesmen belonging to his mother's clan, he attacked Kabul.

Amir Shair Ali Khan was well aware of these plans. He, too, laid due plans in that direction. In Kandahar, Sirdar Mohamed Amin Khan did not send his Letter of Allegiance, but he was left there unmolested for the time being. In the Hazarajat, the other brother of Mohamed Aslam Khan was given a letter of pardon, and in addition, the Amir invited the people there to make allegiance to him (to Shair Ali Khan). As the people wanted to resist, Mohamed Aslam Khan was won over by Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan, and despite the fact that he had sent in his Letter of Allegiance to Amir Shair Ali Khan, he continued to help the enemies of the Amir, and endeavoured to ally them to his own cause.

When Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan had separated himself from Amir Shair Ali Khan at Subzwar (Sheen Dund), he reached Zormut

quickly, and a struggle was precipitated there, which compelled the Amir to turn his troops towards that direction. When, however, peace was sought and Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan came to the Amir himself, but the three months grace that he sought for coming to Kabul, elapsed and he did not return.

Zurmut, therefore, continued to be a point of anxiety. We said above that Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan had sent his Letter of Allegiance to Herat, and despite this he continued to help the king's enemies, namely the Sirdars Mohamed Aslam Khan and his brothers Mohamed Husain Khan, and used to incite them against the king. Yet when Amir Shair Ali Khan reached Kabul he pardoned Sirdar Mohamed Aslam Khan and his brothers.

But he still could not be left in peace, for the disturbers of peace had then attacked Kandahar, and Sirdar Mohamed Amin Khan did not give his oath of allegiance to his brother and raised the standard of revolt against the Amir of Kabul. At this the Amir started with his eldest son Sirdar Mohamed Ali Khan, and a battle took place at Kujbas some eight miles south west of Ghazni, when the uncle and the nephew were slain in battle at the hands of each other. This was such a shock to the Amir that for some time he washed his hands of the affairs of the kingdom and retired to the Shrine of the Robe of the Prophet at Khandahar. At that period at Kabul Sirdar Wali Mohamed Khan and Sirdar Mohamed Yusuf Khan were at the helm of affairs as joint parts in ruling the city. Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan hearing of the condition of the Amir that he had taken to a life of a recluse arrived on the northern confines of the country, and Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan met Abdur Rahman Khan by way of Chitral, and so the nephew and the uncle converged upon Kabul. The Amir hearing of the designs of Abdur Rahman Khan and Sirdar Mohamed Azam Khan sent military force against the two, and at last he himself started towards Kabul, but in battles near Wardak he was defeated, and retreated to Kandahar, and Sirdar Mohamed Afzal Khan who was imprisoned there and had allied himself with the king and was at that time in a Ghazni prison was released and reached the throne of Kabul with the help of his son

and his brother. so that during his four and half years reign Amir Shair Ali Khan had not a minute peace (from the end of the year 1278. A.H. to the beginning of the year 1283. A.H.) The diffinlteics that beset the path of Amir Shair Ali Khan with his brothers, have a close resemblance with the difficulties which were confronted by Zaman Shah, who. of course, was deprived of his sight. Amir Shair Ali Khan, though found a second opportunity to rule, but the activities of foreigners destroyed the desires and aspirations of both of these kings.

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THE RESULTS OF CO-OPERATION.

ARTICLE FORTY SIXTH

In respect to the English aggressions, which are generally styled as the First and the Second Afghan Wars, the English authors have written a great deal, and some of their historians, knowing fully well that the had been the instigators of those wars, gave no cause for these wars. for some of their political leaders sought to weaken a nation, so that their own power and influence should increase thereby.

In point of fact these were results of the two systems of policies of the English: which are known as the Forward Policy and the Close Border Policy. Some of the viceroys of the English were therefore wedded to the one or the other of these two policies. Acting on these, and some time trying the one and at other accasions projecting the other if the previous did not suit their purpose-they found excuses for their intervention and made efforts to reduce the power of a country-Afghanistan -so that they themselves may become powerful.

* * *

The English have experience and skill when the conditions temperaments of the eastern peoples are concerned in which no one can equal them. Nor would anyone deny their skill in this regard. The political leaders of the English with great foresight and penetration

introduced their influence in the eastern regions of India ; and progressed in that land gradually- (which need not detain us here). For the first time they contacted Shahshuja and the Afghan officers in Peshawar in February of 1809. A.D.

This first meeting was at a time when the struggle between the Sadozai princes brought Shah Mahmud to Kabul from Kandahar, and Shahshuja, after his defeat at Nimla, in place of ascending the throne of Kabul retreated to the land of India, and after many tribulations and trials of life, at last took his abode at Ludhiana in north India.

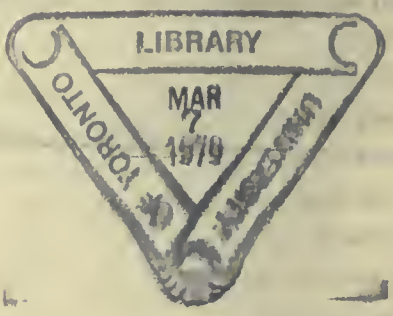
In Afghanistan itself the plans of Mahmud the Sadozai and his minister Vazir Fateh Khan Barakzai, and other Royal elements produced complications, which ultimately brought Amir Dost Mohamed Khan to the throne, who was the youngest of the sons of Sirdar Payunda Khan, the Barakzai. Amir Dost Mohamed Khan who had an excellent plan for the unity of the realm, resolved to make a pact regarding Herat, against Russian and Persian disigns, with the English. He clearly mentioned to Alexander Burnes that he was not inclined towards the English in regards to the Russian promises. Just at that time Lord Auckland arrived in Simla as the Viceroy and in opposition to the clear call of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan he paid no heed to his proposal and saw the things in quite a different light than perceived by the Amir. Maud Dyer , the authoress of a book entitled "From Kabul to Kandahar" styles Lord Auckland as the "Very Careful" person. She writes : . . . . . All things demanded, but he did not promise anything, and as Amir Dost Mohamed Khan was not ready that he could give car to such indefinite promises . . . .

This Viceroy with his wisdom and foresight, who had been adjudged correctly by one of his own countrywomen, plunged the Sindh forces into Afghanistan against a king who offered co-operation to the English. The result of those aggressive movements was just that which the English authoress herself manifests in her writings ; that is to say that as an unjust resolution and decision, the best interests of the English themselves received a check, so

that their important men were killed , their army was destroyed, Shahshuja was thrown out, and the prestige of the British was cast to the dust and disgrace,. and those who had driven Amir Dost Mohamed Khan from his country, had to bring him back to his throne with the same grandeur and honour as before and to place him on the throne of Afghanistan. Furthermore, that pact which had been projected in 1837. A. D. was onec again revived in 1855. A.D. and 1857. A.D. During the years when the Russians found a footing in Central Asia and came nearer the northern borders of Afghanistan, the English made their position stronger in the Punjab. John Lawrence, the governor of the Punjab, the advocate of the Back to the Indus Policy, who considered the natural boundry to be the Indus river returned to India as a Viceroy. Between these two there was an affinity of thought. In the like manner Lord Mayo too agreed with the Amir, but with the appointment of Lord Northbrook as a Viceroy (who belonged to the Forward Policy)- whatever effort was Amir Shair Ali Khan made regarding an agreement with the English against the Russians, no attention was paid to his proposals, even the promise to give help in case of Russian aggressive was not given. Amir Shair Ali Khan's desire to officially acknowledge Sirdar Abdullah Khan as heir was also opposed and due to a regrettable lack of appreciation of the opportunity on the part of the Viceroy and his English statesment the Amir of Afghanistan was compelled to turn his face away from the English and to incline himself towards the Russians. The Russian representative at Kabul had, therefore, to be received by the king of Afghanistan. This favourable attitude of the Afghan king towards the Russians,quite naturally displeased the English,and made them realise their own mistakes, and they began to have doubts about the Afghan monarch. After that Silya Sabri and Lytton occupied the viceroyalty of India respectively and arrived at Simla. Lord Lytton had come with instructions from England saying that at whatever cost possible, he was to win back the king of the Afghans and his rightful heir, and to fall in with their views. But once again the matter slipped out of their hands, for the Afghan King of such enlightment and a man of such stout purpose, could not over throw all his engagements with the Russians, and to expel the Russian representative from Kabul and to receive the English Agent in his stead. This

brought the aggression of the English to the land of the Afghans. Once again the rightful king of Afghanistan had to renounce his throne and his kingdom, and once again the heros of Afghanistan, fighting from the foothills of Asmai and Shair Darwaza at Kabul and from the plains of Maiwand gave a stern reply to the aggression of the invaders who had no perception of their lost opportunities.

But the losses it caused to our country are positive facts. Just decisions would incontrovertibly prove that the English themselves threw over board the chances they were given at a most critical period of time with their own hands. Opportunities which they themselves had sought they diliberately threw away and with their hands weakened the country and the land the strengthening of which was in their own interests a point of their own policy, and lay within the ambit of their own general line of statesmenship.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